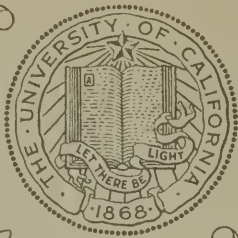




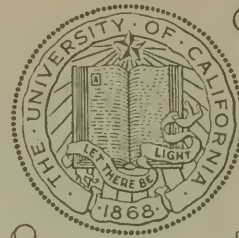
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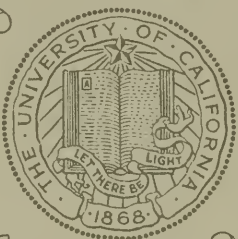
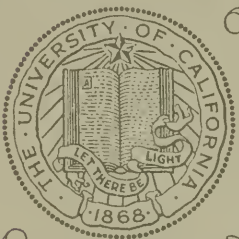
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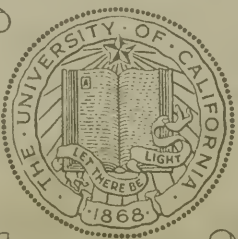
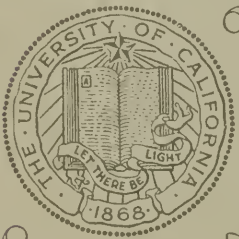
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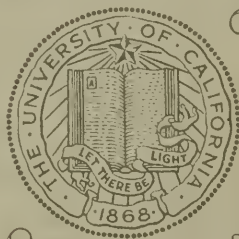
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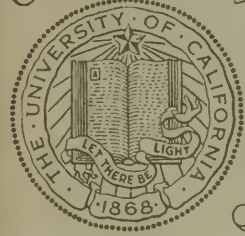
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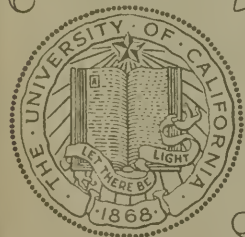
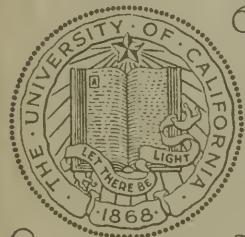
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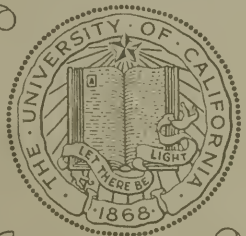
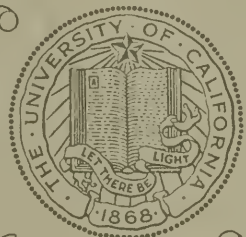
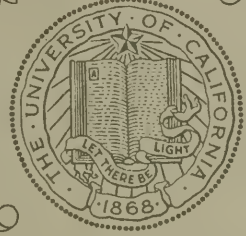
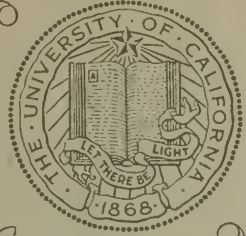
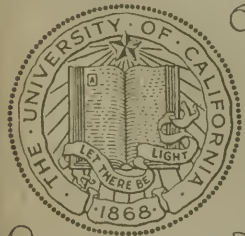
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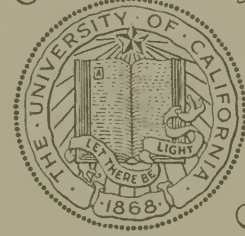
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THE RELATION OF WAR
TO THE
ORIGIN OF THE STATE

BY
RUDOLF HOLSTI

To be presented, with the permission of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Finland, Helsingfors, for public criticism in the hall of the Hist.-Phil. Section on April 16:th, 1913, at 10 a. m.

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PREFACE

The debt which I owe to my teacher, Professor Edward Westermarck, cannot be overestimated. For his invaluable advice, never-failing interest and sympathy, and more especially for his kindness in reading through the entire manuscript of this book I beg to express the deepest feelings of gratitude.

Every reader will also notice how much I owe to his great work »The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas«.

I am further indebted to Mr. G. C. Wheeler, who in a variety of ways greatly facilitated my task during my sojourn in London.

My best thanks are also due to Mr. Arthur Reade, Lecturer in English at the University of Helsingfors, for his great kindness in correcting the manuscript as regards the language and for his valuable help in reading the proofs, and to all other persons who have assisted me in the course of my work.

R. H.

Helsingfors, April 1913.

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CHAPTER I

MODERN THEORIES OF THE STATE

The greatest obstacle to an investigation into the relation between the State and war arises from the confusion of opinions and theories with regard to the character of the State and therefore also of its origin, while, broadly speaking, only the process of destruction in war has undergone changes during the development of civilization but not the essence of war itself.¹

Of the various theories of the State, the philosophical, political, juristic and sociological, the two last-mentioned seem lately to have attained predominance. The philosophical theories appear nowadays to hold a secondary position only, *i. e.* as Jellinek observes, instead of giving ideas to the political sciences they obtain views from them.² As regards the political

¹ *Letourneau*, *La guerre*, pref.

² *Jellinek*, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, p. 65. — Cf. *Paulsen*, *System der Ethik*, vol. II, p. 544 n.

See, however, also *Bosanquet*, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, chap. I; — *Steinmetz*, *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 190 sqq. and passim.

As for juristic theories moulded by earlier philosophical doctrines see *e. g.* on the influence of Hegel on modern German Jurisprudence, *Duguit*, *L'Etat*, p. 106; and on the hold of German thinking over »la jeune école française», *Duguit*, *Op. cit.* p. 20. See also *Heimweh*, *Droit de conquête*, p. 38. — Regarding the connection between Hobbes and Austin, see *e. g.* *Spencer*, *Man versus the State*, p. 372; on the relation of Hegel to English Jurisprudence, *Wilson*, *The Province of the State*, p. 211 sqq.

doctrines, it is by no means an easy task clearly to distinguish them on the one hand from the juristic¹ and on the other hand from the sociological theories. Thus, many political treatises based on an inquiry into the gradual development of political organization may be, and indeed are, classified as sociological investigations as well.² It is thus above all to modern juristic and sociological theories of the State that we have to pay attention.

Of the juristic theories it is admitted, even among modern Jurists themselves, that the great number of different views, which are often in radical opposition to each other, in regard to the character of the State, causes much harm not merely to political philosophy (*Staatslehre*) itself, but at the same time to all the other branches of political science³ (*Staatswissen-*

¹ *E. g. Schmidt*, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, vol. I, p. 26 sq. See also p. 98 on the relation of Treitschke's theory to Jurisprudence; — *Rehm*, *Politik als Wissenschaft*; in *Handbuch der Politik*, vol. I, p. 8 sqq.

² *Gumplowicz*, *Rechtstaat und Socialismus*; — *Idem*, *Rassenkampf*; — *Ratzenhofer*, *Politik*; — *Jähns*, *Krieg, Frieden und Kultur*.

³ Seidler freely declares: — »Der unbefriedigende Zustand der Lehre vom juristischen Kriterium des Staates wird allerseits schwer empfunden. Die grosse Menge einander widerstrebender Ansichten, die offenbar nur dadurch möglich geworden ist, dass keine sich als die richtige durchzusetzen vermochte, wirkt bei der *zentralen* (italics by Seidler) Stellung der Lehre im System des Staatsrechts wie niederdrückender Ballast auf jeden weitem, wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt . . . Die Ursachen des geschilderten Zustandes sind nicht auf Rechnung unzureichender Beherrschung der juristischen Methode zu setzen, . . . sondern auf Rechnung unzureichen der Ausbildung einer Naturlehre des Staates welche uns über das reale Wesen desselben Aufschluss zu geben hätte». — *Op. cit.* pp. V., 2—15, 56 n, 60, 90 n, and 95. —

Cf. *Duguit*, *L'Etat*, pp. 2, 241 sq. and passim; — *Jellinek*, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, p. 24 sq.; — *Idem*, *System der subjektiven öffentlichen Rechte*, p. 12; — v. *Frisch*, *Die Aufgaben des Staates*; in *Handbuch der Politik*, vol. I, pp. 47, 62.

Ratzel observes: — »In der Naturgeschichte hat man die bezeichnenden Namen Museumszoologie und Herbariumsbotanik; das ist in der Lehre vom Staat die Methode, vom Horror vitae diktiert den Staat erst von seiner

schaft). This confusion in regard to the nature of the State is to a considerable extent at any rate due to the view that it would devolve primarily upon Jurisprudence to throw light upon the character of the State.¹ It is against these tendencies that Duguit justly observes: — »L'Etat est ce qu'il est et tout ce qu'il est; et il ne peut pas être pour le juriste différent de ce qu'il est dans la réalité, pour l'homme politique, le sociologue ou l'historien. En vérité, elle est étrange, cette prétention des juristes de se créer un Etat à eux». ² The juristic doctrines³ must as a rule be restricted merely to a consideration of constitutional structure³ and cannot deal with the entire question of the origin and gradual development of that form of the general social life of man which is called political. On the other hand, if it is true that sociology must try to provide the special

Grundlage zu lösen und ihn zu studieren, nachdem man ihm so das Leben ausgetrieben hat». — Der Staat, p. 6.

Cf. also *Dock*, Der Souveränitätsbegriff, p. 67.

¹ E. g. *Loening*, Staat; in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 694.

»Das An-sich des Staates zu bestimmen die jene praktische Welt transcendirende Realität desselben zu erfassen, ist nicht Aufgabe der Jurisprudenz sondern einer die natürlichen und ethischen Grundlagen des menschlichen Gemeinlebens erforschenden Staatslehre». — *Jellinek*, Subjective öffentliche Rechte, p. 20.

² *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 242. See also *Mayer*, in Festschrift für Laband, vol. I, p. 46 sqq.; quoted by *Menzel*, Begriff und Wesen des Staates; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I., p. 41.

³ »Die juristische Theorie des Staates sucht sein Wesen in der Weise zu erfassen, dass er als Rechtsbegriff erscheint». — *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 40.

»Man kann die Betrachtung der geltenden oder in Geltung gewesenen Staatsverfassungen de lege lata als *juristische*, die Beurteilung derselben auf ihre wünschenswerten Veränderungen de lege ferenda als *politische* Betrachtungsweise bezeichnen». — *Schmidt*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, vol. I, p. 27. — Cf. p. 6 sq.

»Die Verfassung (ist) nichts anderes, als ihr Name besagt: die Struktur des Staates in *juristischer* Prägung». — *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 70. — See also *Brie*, Entstehung und Untergang des Staates; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I, p. 67.

social sciences with those leading principles which all of them require both as a basis for their own development and for their practical application,¹ it follows that it is the duty primarily of sociology to find answers to the two questions, What is the State?, and What is its origin? »Sociology«, says Spencer, »has . . . to describe and explain the rise and development of that political organization which in several ways regulates affairs«. ²

Though, perhaps, most of the juristic writers ³ following the view of Jellinek admit ⁴ that along with the more limited juristic view of the State, there must be a »social theory« as well, whose scope is larger, nevertheless juristic writers refuse to accept sociology as the science on which it devolves to bring forward these »social theories«. ⁵ This opposition seems, however, mainly to be due to a wrong idea of the sociological theories of the State. Comparatively little attention is paid to the theories of Spencer, and Westermarck, Giddings, and others are passed over in entire silence, while the criticism advanced against the sociological treatment of the subject is directed chiefly against the sociological school of Gumpłowicz and his followers, above all, Ratzenhofer and Oppenheimer. ⁶

¹ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, chap. 27; — *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, Introduction; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 33; — *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. III, p. 444; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 183 sqq.; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 259.

² *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 427; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 36.

³ *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 40.

⁴ *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 61.

⁵ *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre p. 65; see also pp. 67, 167 sqq.; — *Schmidt*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, vol. I, pp. 6 sqq, 25 sqq, 92, 107 sq; *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 17 sqq. —

Against this view see *e. g.* *Gumpłowicz*, Die Geschichte der Staatstheorien, pp. 523, 571 sqq., passim; — *Idem*, Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 26 sqq.

⁶ *E. g.* *Berolzheimer*, Methodik und Abgrenzung der Politik; in Handbuch der Politik, vol. I, p. 16; — *Menzel*, Op. cit. p. 37 sq. See also *Seidler*, Op. cit. p. 20 n.

As however these Sociologists by no means represent *the* sociological view, the opposition of juristic writers towards a sociological exposition of the subject is hardly to the point.

Jurists¹ and Sociologists² are, generally speaking, unanimous, in ascribing to the State these two chief characteristics: The group of men which constitutes a State, must be organized under the rule of a government which is independent of other governments and it must also occupy a territory of its own.

It is obvious that the first of these features is of the greater importance. Men form groups and establish within them some form of government and these political bodies occupy and maintain certain territories. Thus the starting point in the investigation into the origin of the State is political organization and not territorial occupation.

We must consequently analyse more closely the origin of such a form of social organization as may on good grounds be considered to constitute the very origin of the State. On this point the views of Sociologists seem at first sight widely divergent. Brinton sees in the social life of bees, ants, and beavers such characteristics as lead him to speak of »little states». ³ Similarly Letourneau begins his record of political evolution from

¹ *Jellinek*, Allgemeine Staatslehre, p. 173; — *Loening*, Staat; in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 708; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, pp. 37, 71, 74; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, p. 9. — *Wilson*, The Province of the State, chap. I.; cf. p. 219 sqq.; — *Nys*, Le Droit international, vol. I, p. 336; — *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. I, pp. 100, 264.

² *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, chap. XXIV; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, pp. 37, 174; — *Novicow*, Les luttes entre sociétés humaines et leurs phases successives, p. 238 sq; — *Gumpłowicz*, Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 99 sqq.; — *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, pp. 130, 195, vol. II, p. 20 sq.; — see, however, vol. I., p. 159; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 139 sq. — See also *Ratzel*, Der Staat, pp. 6, 18, 25, 62 sq, passim.

³ *Brinton*, The Basis of Social Relations, p. 7.

ants and bees. ¹ Kropotkin ² justly points out that many higher animals also acknowledge a certain leadership, and Vaccaro, ³ before proceeding to deal with the origin of political authority within human societies, refers to the same facts. So, too, Huxley ⁴ observes that the social life of man is merely a part of social life in general. ⁵

In early Greek thought no clearly marked difference was made between the notion of a town and a State. ⁶ According to Plato, ⁷ their origin is the same, and the most primitive State can consist of four or five men only. ⁸

Many later authors derive the origin of the State ultimately from the same sources as social integration in general *i. e.* from the primitive family or clan and according to this

¹ *Letourneau*, *Evolution politique*, chap. I.

² *Kropotkin*, *Mutual Aid*, chap. I and II, *passim*.

³ *Vaccaro*, *Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat* p. 222 sq.

⁴ *Huxley*, *Essays*, *Ethical and Political*, p. 30.

⁵ Speaking of the dogs in Constantinople Meyer remarks: — »Sie haben sich in scharf gegen einander abgegrenzten Quartieren organisiert, in die sie keinen fremden Hund hineinlassen und jeden Abend halten sämtliche Hunde eines jeden Quartiers auf einem öden Platz eine . . . Versammlung ab . . . Hier kann man also geradezu von räumlich umgrenzten Hundestaaten reden». — *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. I, p. 7.

⁶ See *c. g.* *Hegel*, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte* p. 264.

⁷ *Plato*, *Opera*, vol. II, p. 30.

⁸ See also *Aristotle*, *Politics*, I, 2, 3.; — *Seidler*, *Das juristische Kriterium des Staates*, p. 19 sqq.; — *Gumpowicz*, *Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, p. 42 sqq.

⁹ *Westermarck*, *The History of Human Marriage*, *passim*, especially chapters III, VI, XX, XXII; — *Idem*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, pp. 213 sq., 222 sq.; — *Giddings*, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 174, 264; — *Höfding*, *Etik*, pp. 511, 537.

Duguit remarks with respect to the early Aryan and Semitic family that the father »est le gouvernement de ce petit Etat». — *L'Etat*, p. 248.

Hearn points out the clan as the origin of Aryan States. — *Aryan Household*, pp. 321, 335. See also *Hegel*, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte*, p. 119; — *Seidler*, *Das juristische Kriterium des Staates*, p. 19 sqq.; — *Martensen*, *Den Kristliga Etiken*, vol. II, p. 83.

view the paternal authority may be said to constitute the earliest form of governmental authority.

It is therefore that so many travellers, when speaking of the political life of rude savage units, ascribe to them the rank of a State. Thus Professor Lenz¹ calls certain Negro societies in West Africa — which have their own language and customs — States, although their population does not exceed two hundred individuals. Dr. Steinmetz² and Messrs. Hanoteau and Letourneau³ likewise speak of small sovereign groups. »Each village is a separate State», says Mr. Shakespear,⁴ of the Kuki communities. According to Dr. Broda,⁵ all small communistic units are *per se* States. In a certain sense, Professor Bosanquet observes, it would be true to say that »wherever men have lived there has always been a 'State'. That is to say, there has been some association or corporation, larger than the family, and acknowledging no power superior to itself».⁶

All these various views agree as least so far that the origin of the State is traced back to very primitive forms of social integration and that the leading part in this process, as well as in the origin of political authority, is not necessarily ascribed to war.

A distinctly opposite view is held by authors to whom the origin of the State seems to be in closest relationship to war. Among these theories we have to distinguish, broadly speaking, two different views. Firstly, certain Sociologists agree with the writers above-mentioned in so far that they, too, trace the origin

¹ Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika* p. 273.

² Steinmetz, *Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, vol. I, p. 365; cf. p. 382.

³ Hanoteau and Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. II, p. 8.

⁴ Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 43.

⁵ Broda, *Primitive Communism*; in *The International*, vol. IV, 1909, p. 147. — See also Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 241; — Krieger, *Neu Guinea*, p. 192.

⁶ Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 3.

of the State to the rudimentary forms of early integration in general, though on the other hand they argue, that the coherence of the different groups was caused primarily through warlike co-operation and that consequently the most primitive forms of leadership and government were warlike. Foremost among these is Herbert Spencer. Although he does not clearly distinguish between the origin and early development of social integration and the origin and growth of an essentially political organisation¹ he at the same time, in accordance with his militant conception of primitive ages, concludes that primitive societies are formed through wars.² »Headship of the society», he goes on, »commonly beginning with the influence gained by the warriors of greatest power, boldness and capacity, becomes established where activity in war gives opportunity for his superiority to show itself and to generate subordination».³ Similarly Bagehot maintains that man in early times was extremely warlike. Consequently he remarks that »despotism grows in the first societies, just as democracy in modern societies; it is the government answering the primary need and congenial to the whole spirit of the time».⁴ According to Jähns the most primitive social unit was a society of warriors, and the State originated in the election of the most successful warrior to its chief.⁵ »A l'origine de l'humanité, alors que les guerres sont continuelles», says Vaccaro, »c'est la classe militaire qui commande et elle n'admet pas que d'autres classes participent au gouvernement».⁶ — »L'autorité des chefs cesse ordinairement en même temps que la guerre; cependant, ils conservent toujours quelque ascendant sur les membres de la tribu, et ces

¹ *Gumpłowicz*, *Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, pp. 399, 402.

² *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 278.

³ *Op. cit.* p. vol. II, p. 338. — Cf. vol. I, pp. 12, 545 sqq, 508, 583 vol. II, p. 266; — *Idem*, *Principles of Ethics*, vol. II, p. 202 sqq.

⁴ *Physics and Politics*, p. 65; cf. pp. 25, 77, 81, passim.

⁵ *Jähns*, *Krieg, Frieden und Kultur*, pp. 65, 97 sq.

⁶ *Vaccaro*, *Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État*, p. 468.

derniers reconnaissant en eux la force, le courage et la prudence, écoutent avec déférence leurs conseils». ¹

Dr. Mc Dougall,² Topinard,³ and a great number of other authors,⁴ who deal with the social life of primitive man, put forward theories more or less fully in conformity with those just quoted, while Dr Steinmetz, in spite of his view in a previous work ⁵ concerning the origin of the State, emphatically stresses in »Die Philosophie des Kriéges» that there is no State without war. ⁶

On the other hand Gumplowicz and his school maintain that the State by no means originates in so simple a way as through the natural growth of a primitive community in internal organisation and submission to a government more or less voluntarily established. According to the views of Gumplowicz,⁷ Ratzenhofer,⁸ Lester Ward,⁹ Oppenheimer¹⁰ and others¹¹ the origin

¹ Op. cit. p. 224.

² Social Psychology, p. 287.

³ L'Anthropologie et science sociale, p. 166.

⁴ E. g. *Maine*, Village Communities, p. 145; — *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 14; cf. p. 17; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, 165 sq.; — *Dahn*, e. g. Die Germanen, p. 41 sqq.; — *Guyot*, La démocratie individualiste p. 6 sq.; — *Krauss*, Krieg und Kultur, p. 1.

⁵ See *supra*, and *infra* chap. IX.

⁶ Die Philosophie des Kriéges, pp. 34, 190 sqq., passim.

⁷ »In der sociologischen Staatsidee», says Gumplowicz, »erscheint die Entstehung des Staates als ein durch die Uebermacht einer kriegerisch organisirten, gegenüber einer unkriegerischen Menschengruppe herbeigeführtes historisches Ereignis». — *Gumplowicz*, Die sociologische Staatsidee, p. 55; cf. also pp. 65—71 Gumplowicz' eulogy of Macchiavelli and Ferguson, who held broadly speaking similar views as Gumplowicz himself; — *Idem*, Der Rassenkampf, pp. 181, 205 sqq.

⁸ »Die Unterwerfung bereits sesshafter Stämme durch wandernde, womit sich diese den Grundbesitz und zugleich Arbeiter eroberten, schuf die complicirte Gesellschaft und den Staat». — *Politik*, vol. I, p. 130; cf. p. 13.

»Staat und Gewalt sind ursprünglich aus der absoluten Feindseligkeit eines Volkstammes gegen einen andern hervorgegangen. Der siegreiche

of a State does not take place until one community — as a rule a peaceful one — has been subjugated by a warlike group. Similarly, Treitschke, although he partly admits that the beginning of the State can also be traced back to the most simple social origins,¹ none the less lays special stress upon war and conquest. The State, he concludes, in conformity with the theory of Gumplowicz, is in most cases the political power of the stronger tribes over the weaker ones.²

We have thus, generally speaking, three different theories of the origin of the State. On the one hand, many authors derive it from the same rudimentary sources as social integration in general, thereby not necessarily attributing to war any primary part. On the other hand, a certain school of modern Sociologists argue that the State does not originate until wars have called forth permanent subjugations of peaceful units under conquering races. And between these two opposite theories is the view, that the State originates indeed simultaneously with early social integration, but that this is called forth through co-operation in wars, so that primitive government also consists mainly in the leadership of the ablest warriors.

Which of these theories regarding the origin of the State from the particular point of view of the origin of political authority, is best in agreement with ethnographical facts? Is war the normal condition of a savage society? And are the origin and development of primitive integration and submission to chieftainship to be ascribed mainly to the influence of savage warfare?

Stamm schuf die Gewalt und übte die Regierung aus». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 193; — *Idem*, Soziologie, pp. 14, 147.

⁹ Pure Sociology, p. 205 sqq.; cf. p. 203 sq.

¹⁰ Der Staat, p. 40, passim.

¹¹ E. g. *Lilienfeld*, Zur Vertheidigung der organischen Methode in der Sociologie, p. 50 sq.

¹ Politik, vol. I, pp. 13 sq., 113 sq.

² Op. cit. vol. I, p. 113 sqq.

In the following chapters we shall try to answer these questions. When it has been done, an answer can subsequently be sought for the question of the relation of war to the origin of the State.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE

Before proceeding to investigate if war is the normal condition of savage society, we must define what is meant by war. One of the best known military authors during the last century, General Clausewitz¹ gives the following definition: — »War is not merely a political act, but a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means.» General von der Goltz² writes: — »War is the continuation of policy with weapons in hand.»³ According to General Sir Ian Hamilton⁴, »War is the pursuit of State policy over the boundary of law and logic into the domain of force.» From the point of view of International Law, Professor Oppenheim⁵ describes war as »the contention between two or more States through their armed forces for the purpose of overpowering each other and imposing such conditions of peace as the victor pleases.» According to Professor Dahn,⁶ war is armed

¹ *Clausewitz*, On War, vol. I, p. 23.

² *Von der Goltz*, The Nation in Arms, p. 137.

³ Colonel Max Hübner repeats that war is »das letzte Mittel der Politik«. — *Militärpolitik*, p. 1.

⁴ *Hamilton*, Compulsory Service, p. 46.

⁵ *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. II., p. 56; cf. p. 73.

⁶ *Dahn*, Das Kriegerrecht, p. 1.

self-help of one State against another State. Bara¹ says: —
 »La guerre est une manière de vider les différents survenus entre deux ou plusieurs États.»

None of these definitions, however, can be regarded as satisfactory. For they postulate, whether directly or indirectly, the existence of the State before that of war, and war is only made out to be one of the characteristic functions of the State. This is not admissible from the sociological point of view, since, as we have already noticed, many sociologists argue that, on the contrary, war is the main source from which the State has sprung. A sociological definition must therefore take a broader view.

According to Spencer,² war is »a state in which life is occupied in conflict with other beings, brute or human — energies spent in destruction instead of energies spent in production.» Letourneau³ describes war as »la lutte sauvage pour la vie ou pour la mort, entre des groupes d'individus, animaux ou hommes, appartenant à une même espèce.» Ratzenhofer⁴ sees in war merely an application of force on a great scale. Lagorgette,⁵ who has collected more than 150 definitions of war, only agrees with those which see in war »l'état de luttes violentes issu, entre deux ou plusieurs groupements d'êtres appartenant à la même espèce, du conflit de leurs désirs ou de leurs volontés.»⁶

From the sociological point of view these latter definitions are essentially correct. Yet to preclude any possibility of misapprehension, some further attention must be paid to such

¹ Bara, *La science de la paix*, p. 5.

² Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, p. 675.

³ Letourneau, *La guerre*, p. 528. — See Lagorgette, *Le rôle de la guerre*, p. 9.

⁴ Ratzenhofer, *Soziologie*, pp. 107, 138 sq.

⁵ Lagorgette, *Op. cit.* p. 10.

⁶ In substantial agreement with these definitions, though having reference only to human beings, General Foch says of war that it has been »le moyen violent que les peuples emploient pour se faire une place dans le monde en tant que nations». — *Des principes de la guerre*, p. 33.

phrases as «energies spent in destruction» and «pour la vie et pour la mort» and «pour se faire une place dans le monde.» For these words imply, more or less, the idea of loss of life, and this is hardly an indispensable characteristic of all kinds of warfare. As we shall soon find, there are among savages combats in which killing is not directly aimed at. Similarly we shall see that savages do not carry on war simply by means of physical force; they avail themselves comparatively often of superstitious means, too. Moreover, since this study has reference merely to the relation of war to the origin of the human State, it seems proper to limit the definition correspondingly. War may therefore fittingly be defined as a state of hostility between human groups in which use is made of physical force, and not infrequently of superstitious means as well, with or without killing, capture, plunder, or conquest.

If war is defined in this way, how far can primitive conditions be regarded as warlike? The theory according to which the State owes its origin to war presupposes that war is prevalent in a high degree at early stages of civilisation. Characteristic of Spencer¹ is his conception of the militancy of savage societies, which survives even among peoples of modern culture. According to Bagehot², the early age of man was the true fighting age, when «all nations were destructible, and the further we go back the more incessant was the work of destruction». Huxley³ maintains that in primitive times «life was a continual free fight, and beyond the limited and temporary relations of the family, the Hobbesian war of each against all was the normal state of existence». Although Vaccaro admits that «aux premiers âges de l'humanité, lorsque les hommes, encore sans armes, avaient à lutter contre une foule d'obstacles naturels et d'espèces ennemies, il est probable qu'ils vivaient, jusqu'à un certain

¹ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, pp. 341 sq., 351 sq., 367, 387 sq.

² *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 77; cf. p. 81.

³ *Huxley*, Essays Ethical and Political, p. 8.

point, en paix»,¹ yet he concludes that »la guerre . . . est l'état naturel et ordinaire des premiers groupes humaines»;² and in another place: — »A l'origine de humanité . . . les guerres sont continuelles». ³ Jähns⁴ is of the same opinion, and so is apparently Dr. McDougall.⁵ According to Dr. Steinmetz,⁶ man in the most remote ages was aggressive and blood-thirsty, since otherwise he would for ever have remained a mere brute. The best point of support for this hypothesis Steinmetz finds in the assumption that man has always been omnivorous.⁷ Basing himself on the statements of various authors M. Lagorgette⁸ expresses a similar opinion as regards the warlike character of primitive times.

More cautious are Lester Ward and Ratzenhofer. The former⁹ believes that during the most remote times a general differentiation had taken place, implying the possibility of struggles on a relatively small scale between the different social units. So also Ratzenhofer argues, that the existence and the increase of mankind involved in the beginning no collisions worth speaking of between hordes and tribes, owing to there being unoccupied tracts for settlement. The struggle for life was carried on only with the climate and wild beasts.¹⁰ In

¹ *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 81.

² *Op. cit.* p. 222.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 468.

⁴ *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur p. 92 sqq.

⁵ *McDougall*, Social Psychology, chap. XI.

⁶ *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, chap. II. He remarks that a little more »consciousness of kind» would have resulted in the disappearing of ferocity and consequently held back the intellectual development of man. — Philosophie des Krieges, p. 21; cf. *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 117 sq. Cf. also pp. 71, 225.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 19. See *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 195.

⁸ *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 35 sq.

⁹ *Ward*, Pure Sociology, p. 200 sq.

¹⁰ »Die Ernährung und Vermehrung der Menschen vollzog sich anfangs infolge der vorhandenen unbesetzten Wohnräume ohne wesentliche Kollisionen der Horden und Stämme. Das Daseinkampf wurde nur mit dem Klima und wilden Tieren geführt». — *Ratzenhofer*, Soziologie, p. 13.

another place he writes that our sociological knowledge shows that at the beginning foreign racial elements shun one another; it is civilization that teaches men to seek to come into touch with one another; ¹ man like the beast is as shy of fighting as he is of working. ² Later on, however, the pugnaciousness of man greatly increased until finally, as Ratzenhofer puts it, a state of »absolute hostility» was reached. ³

All these views, however, are more or less opposed to what we know of still existing savages. Firstly, it seems doubtful whether writers dealing with savage warfare have always fully realized its true character. Above all, from our point of view, primitive men are indiscriminately spoken of as savages, but it is not true that all of them are on the same level and that their modes of warfare are everywhere alike. On the contrary, the causes for which savages carry on war change, at least to a certain extent, *pari passu*, with their general social development, and its methods vary likewise. Letourneau ⁴ considers wars among the Australian aborigines generally to have a juridical character. In his description of their warfare, Wheeler, ⁵ following Letourneau, points out that they carry on warfare proper mainly for reasons of revenge, while plunder and conquest are not directly aimed at. Among the Waga-

¹ »Die soziologische Erkenntnis zeigt dass sich fremde Rasselemente bei der Begegnung ursprünglich fliehen, erst die Kultur lehrt die Menschen sich gegenseitig aufzusuchen»; and »Der Mensch ist wie das Tier an und für sich ebenso kampfscheu wie er arbeitscheu ist». — *Ratzenhofer*, Op. cit. p. 74. — Steinmetz strongly opposes such a view: the differentiation is on the contrary caused by wars. — *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 36.

² *Ratzenhofer*, Op. cit. p. 105.

³ *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, p. 60; — *Idem*, Soziologie, p. 12.

⁴ *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 32. — Cf. also *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 245 sqq.; — *Idem*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 139 sq., passim. — *Idem*, Across Australia, vol. II, pp. 292 sqq., 299, passim. — Reports of the Cambridge Exp. Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 298.

⁵ *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 148 sq.

waga and Tubetube in New Guinea wars arise above all for revenge; »in nine cases out of ten this was the cause of war in the south-eastern district«, says Dr. Seligmann,¹ and this seems to be the case, at least to a certain extent, in other parts of the island also.² Speaking of the wars among the Maori, Polack remarks that their causes »are too frivolous to name, as a pig passing over a cemetery is as legitimate a cause for hostilities as the death and eventual mastication of a chief«. ³ On the whole, however, the earlier causes, before the wars of conquest and mutual destruction, were mainly of a revengeful character. ⁴ The only form of combat that occurs among the very primitive Toala in Celebes is the driving away of thieves. ⁵ Among the Nootka wars of retaliation were the most common ones. A serious offence against an individual, says Bancroft, although nominally pardoned in view of presents, can never »really be atoned, hence private, family, and tribal feuds continue from generation to generation.« ⁶ Wars for revenge are similarly the most common among many other primitive peoples. ⁷

A special form of wars carried on by savages for the sake of revenge are those caused by disputes arising from the relation

¹ *Seligmann*, *The Melanesians*, p. 453.

² *Krieger*, *Neu Guinea*, pp. 199, 318, 406, 414, 416.

³ *Polack*, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. II, p. 17.

⁴ *Best*, *Notes on the Art of War*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.*, vol. XIII, p. 4; cf. pp. 76, 80 and vol. XI, p. 28. As for the Moriori, their chief causes of quarrel were »curses and insulting and derisive songs at one another's women.« — *Shand*, *Early History of Morioris*; in *Trans. New Zealand Institute*, vol. XXXVII, p. 151.

⁵ *Sarasin*, *Celebes*, vol. II, p. 277.

⁶ *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 207.

⁷ *Nelson*, *Eskimo about Bering Strait*; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 328; — *Coxe*, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, p. 198; cf. p. 216; — *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 723; — *Carver*, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* p. 298; — *Rocheport*, *Iles Antilles*, p. 411; — *Thomson*, *The Fijians*, p. 88; — *Polack*. *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 230 sqq.; — *Williamson*, *The Mafulu*, p. 180, cf. p. 183; — *Kolff*, *Voyages of »Dourga«*, p. 253; — *Stewart*, *Notes on the Northern Cachar*; in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 610.

between the sexes. Thus, »intrigue with the wives of men of other tribes is one of the commonest causes of quarrel among the Indians» says Mayne.¹ So the faithlessness of husbands could also call forth acts of revenge.² Indeed, a host of causes connected with the rights of marriage have been *casus belli* among the Indians of North America³ as well as among other primitive peoples.⁴ So also, considering the great importance of the food question to savages, it is bound to cause a good deal of trouble between neighbouring communities if there is any trespassing on the hunting grounds, fishing places, and so forth, which some of them may look upon as belonging to themselves alone. Indeed, according to Spencer⁵ and many other authors,⁶ wars about food have undoubtedly been the earliest waged between

¹ *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 276.

² *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. II, p. 149 sqq.

³ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 235, 343, 380; — *Franchère*, Voyage through the North-West Coast of America, p. 251; — *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 322; — *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 169; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

⁴ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 13; — *S. Percy Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, pp. 148, 201 sq. 213 sq.; vol. IX, p. 164; — *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 556 sq; — *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 199, 320 sq., 406, 416; — *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 245, passim; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 88; — *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I, p. 267; — *Poutrin*, Notes Ethnographiques sur les . . M'Baka; in L'Anthropologie, 1910, p. 461; — *Torday and Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1906, p. 49; — *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I, p. 229.

⁵ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 267.

⁶ *Darwin* The Descent of Man, vol. I, p. 134; — *Ratzenhofer*. Die sociologische Erkenntniss p. 245; — *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 114 sqq.; — *Novicow* maintains in »Les luttes entre sociétés humaines et leurs phases successives», p. 64 sqq. that the food wars have been the very earliest, while in his last study, »La critique du darwinisme social» he seems to oppose this view. Cf. Op. cit. pp. 162, 208 sqq., 259, 264 passim.

human groups. On the other hand, however, as far as the conditions of savages fully known to us throw light upon the question, seem fairly justified in inferring that we have mainly to look upon these wars as a special form of wars of retaliation. Among the natives of Cape York hostilities arise between the various groups as soon as »incursions are made into each others' territories». ¹ It is for similar reasons that wars are waged among the Veddas, ² the Fuegians, ³ the Chicuitos and Araucanians, ⁴ as well as among the Indians of North America. The Ojibway, ⁵ Sioux, Kickapoo, Kansas, Osage, and Omaha ⁶ make war upon each other for the »infringing of the hunting grounds of one another», and this holds good of many other primitive peoples also. ⁷ Of the Punans Mr. Furness observes that they have »no enemies, for they desire nothing that other peoples have». ⁸

The common feature in these instances has been that wars have been carried on for revenge, as acts of retaliation for injustice suffered, whether real or imagined. Thus, as it was observed of the Australian aborigines, in the same way races as low as the Veddas, the Fuegians, the Eskimo, etc., are not

¹ *McGillivray*, Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 4 sq.

² *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III., pp. 480 sq., 488.

³ *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle, vol. II, p. 131.

⁴ *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I., p. 229.

⁵ *Jones*, The Ojibway Indians, pp. 129, 185, 187.

⁶ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Ethnol. p. 312.

⁷ *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 14; — *Coxe*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 143; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 344, 562, 579, 628, passim; — *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 237; — *Fremont* and *Emory*, Notes of Travel in California, p. 34 sq.; — *Kane*, Wanderings of an Artist, p. 230; — *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 119; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 298; cf. p. 304 sq; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 88; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 161 sq.; vol. II, p. 390. — See also Kalevala, runo XXXI; — *Wallin*, Kuv. Suomen Kansan Esihistoriasta, p. 169 sq.

⁸ *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 184.

said to aim at plunder or conquest in their wars. Likewise we found of the North American Indians that their wars were called forth above all through revenge; »their accumulations were not so great as to be tempting», says Powell; »accordingly battle for plunder, tribute, and conquest was almost unknown». ¹

From these features it is to be inferred that in earlier ages, and in still more primitive conditions, when man had even less accumulated property, revenge must in still higher degree have been the chief cause of war. On the other hand, when we come to savages who have reached a higher level of settled life and who have already begun to accumulate valuable property, we find that wars tend to a considerable extent to arise from new reasons. Among the Papuans of New Guinea a thirst for booty is to be observed, ² and this holds good of the Melanesians, too. ³ We read of the Fijian that »he likes to take another's property without asking for it, and hence goes to war». ⁴ War expeditions aiming at plunder and conquest were frequent in New Caledonia, ⁵ Tonga, ⁶ and New Zealand, ⁷ as well as among the ancient natives of Central America. ⁸ As for the Indians of North America, there are abundant statements to the effect that as soon as these peoples came into contact with the Whites, obtained horses, weapons, and other implements, and learned the value of furs and other trade goods, thefts, which previously had been a comparatively rare trait among them, ⁹ gradually increased and took the shape of pri-

¹ *Powell*, Indian Linguistic Families of America; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 39.

² *Abel*, Savage Life, p. 134.

³ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 541.

⁴ *Williams and Calwert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 59.

⁵ *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 245.

⁶ *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I. p. 75.

⁷ *Manning*, Old New Zealand, pp. 92, 185.

⁸ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 764; vol. II, p. 746.

⁹ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 4 sqq.

vate expeditions for plunder, ¹ may even, as among the Iroquois, »to enforce the payment of tribute.» ² In Africa cattle raids and wars for procuring slaves are a frequent occurrence. Describing the wars among the Nandi, Sir H. H. Johnston observes: — »After a successful raid the elders of the clan divide the spoil (which is of course cattle, sheep, and goats), and the warriors so far respect the old men that they allow them to take what they require from out of the loot, while at least seven of the captured cattle are sent to the medicine man. When this has been done, the rest of the loot . . . is left to be snatched at by the warriors». ³ Or, again, the native despots have organized similar expeditions in order to procure booty. ⁴ In short,

¹ *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 54 sq; — *Dorsey*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, p. 132; — *Idem*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol, p. 326; — *Kane*, Op. cit. pp. 126, 404, 436, passim; — *Speck*, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, p. 84; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 404 sq.; cf. p. 408 sq. Wars of revenge were looked upon as more honourable than wars for mere booty. Op. cit. p. 409.

² *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. III, p. 81.

³ *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II., p. 879.

⁴ *Hecquard*, Voyages sur la côte de l'Afrique Occidentale, p. 118 passim. — *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 278; — *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 37; — *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 117, passim; — *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 236 sq. passim; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 496; — Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1852, vol. II, p. 417 sq; — *Speke*, The Discovery of the Source of the Nile, pp. 211 sq., 285 sq., 289, 301, 311, passim; — *Schweinfurth*, The Heart of Africa, vol. I, pp. 163, 226 sq., passim; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 279, vol. II, pp. 54, 63 sq., 299 sq., passim; — *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 213; — *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 795, passim; — *Hobley*, Kavirondo; in Geographical Journal, 1898, vol. XII., p. 371. — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, pp. 35, 307, passim; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, pp. 27 sq., 100 sq., 175, 313, 452, passim; — *Ferrero*, Militarism, p. 64. — »L'esprit de conquête n'existant pas . . . les Kabyles ne se battent entre eux que pour des questions d'amour propre»; in these wars spoil is procured. — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 76. — As for primitive peoples in general, see *e. g.* *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 51.

statements to this effect are given from almost all parts of Africa where the natives have reached a higher standard of economic progress. — It is hardly necessary to allude to the fact that, largely through the influence of the Whites, wars have been waged in Africa to procure slaves.¹ Thus, speaking of the native monarchies in Africa, Ratzel observes that their wars have had reference mainly to peoples, not so much to territorial conquests;² and he seems to be inclined to include the so-called ancient culture States in Asia in the same class. Their leading aim was plunder. Permanent occupation seems to have been of minor importance.³ As William James observes, the career of Alexander the Great was »piracy pure and simple, nothing but an orgy of power and plunder, made romantic by the character of the hero». ⁴ Long before the Saxons and Angles, says Freeman, actually settled, they plundered and laid waste, and later on the Danes in Britain followed in the same course. »We first find a period in which the object of the invaders seems to be simple plunder»,⁵ until later, »instead of sailing away every winter with their plunder, they effect permanent settlements in a considerable part of the country». And finally came the most decided step leading to »altogether a new character», complete conquest.⁶ Thus, speaking of the expeditions of the Vikings in general, Strinnholm points out that at first these

¹ *Beecham*, Ashantee, p. 119; — *Livingstone*, Op. cit. p. 213; — *Casati*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 279; — *Ratzel*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 313, 350, passim; — *Lenz*, Wanderungen in Afrika, p. 125 sqq; — *Ferrero*, Militarism, p. 64; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 87 sqq.

² *Ratzel*, Der Staat, p. 86.

³ Op. cit. p. 87. Cf. *Ragozin*, Chaldea, p. 69.

⁴ *James*, The Moral Equivalent of War; in McClure's Magazine, 1910, vol. XXXV, p. 464. Prof. Lester Ward observes: — »In olden times no secret was made of the fact that the object of military expeditions was the acquisition of the wealth of the conquered people. Such was the nature of Alexander's conquest, of Caesar's wars.» — *Dynamic Sociology*, vol. I, p. 584.

⁵ *Freeman*, Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 44.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 45.

were of an unimportant character, and comparatively little booty was taken; but gradually they were extended beyond the shores of the home countries to foreign lands, until at last complete conquests were made. ¹ Similarly General Clausewitz states of most of the wars during the Middle Ages: — »they were comparatively rapidly carried out. There was little time spent idly in camps, but the object was generally only punishment, not subduing the enemy. They carried off his cattle; burnt his towns, and then returned home again». ²

To sum up, as far as the instances quoted throw light upon the matter, it would seem that we may lay down the rule that savages in a low state of civilization comparatively seldom regard war as a means of looting, and still less do they aim at permanent conquests. They wage war above all in order to settle their disputes, to take revenge for wrongs — real or imagined — inflicted upon them. On the other hand it was noticed that peoples who have attained a somewhat higher level of culture have at the same time got into the habit of organizing special war parties for getting booty. Gradually increasing in strength and efforts, these parties become with time great war expeditions, which aim above all at plunder on a large scale and more or less lasting conquests. It may be also added that very rude savages seem comparatively seldom to make use of sudden attacks for taking the enemy by surprise; whereas among uncivilized peoples of a higher type such a mode of warfare is far more common. ³ Now it is evident that when an inquiry

¹ *Strinholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. I, pp. 58 sq, 109 sq, 146 sq, 199 sq, 256 sq, 246 sq., 336 sq. — See also *Freeman*, *Op. cit.* vol. IV, p. 80 and *passim*.

² *Clausewitz*, *On War*, vol. III, p. 92. With regard to the Asiatic States of modern times, see *Hamilton*, *A Staff-Officer's Scrap-Book*, vol. I, p. 12.

³ The illustration of this feature must be left to the following volume, where the question of tactics in savage warfare will be discussed. See, however, *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, chapter IX.

is to be made into the warlike character of primitive peoples, instances having reference to one or other of the different kinds of savage warfare just mentioned, must not be left undiscriminated.

Looking, accordingly, at the more primitive forms of savage warfare, with which we are here more particularly concerned, it must be borne in mind that very often it is conducted in the same manner as hunting. The ruder the people, the greater is the resemblance between the two. In his description of the natives of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann¹ calls attention to this resemblance; war and hunting expeditions are both begun with the same ceremonies, and the forms of purification following them are the same. Among the Kukis in Bengal² no difference is made between warfare proper and the chase. With reference to the Bushmans, Letourneau, quoting Moffat, remarks: — »Pour la stratégie, les Bochimans ne distinguent pas entre la guerre et la chasse, en réalité, ils guerroyent surtout pour se procurer le bétail d'autrui». ³ As to Hottentots, the same author adds that they »distinguaient mal encore entre la guerre et la chasse». ⁴ Among the Kafirs, war is likewise accompanied by the same ceremonies as is the chase, ⁵ and this is also the case with another of the more advanced warrior races in Africa, namely the Fans. ⁶ Of the M'Baka Negro, Mr. Poutrin affirms: — »la guerre . . n'est qu'une sorte de chasse». ⁷

¹ *Seligmann*, *The Melanesians*, pp. 293, 296 sq., 333.

² *Stewart*, *Notes on the Northern Cachar*; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 632; and *Macrae*, *Account of the Kookies*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. VII, p. 185, 195.

³ *Moffat*, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, p. 143; quoted by *Letourneau*, *La guerre*, p. 56.

⁴ *Letourneau*, *Op. cit.* p. 58.

⁵ *Lichtenstein*, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. 1, p. 269.

⁶ *Lenz*, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, p. 82.

⁷ *Poutrin*, *Notes ethnographiques sur les . . M'Baka du Congo* in *L'Anthropologie*, 1910, p. 45.

With regard to the Patagonians¹ and the Indians of Paraguay² and Central Brazil,³ we have statements to the same effect. So also the North American Indians, as for example the Yuchi,⁴ Californians in general,⁵ Flatheads,⁶ Creeks,⁷ Iroquois,⁸ Seri,⁹ Sia,¹⁰ and others,¹¹ did not recognize any real difference between war and hunting excursions.¹²

Two factors are, perhaps, more than anything else responsible for this close connection between war and the chase. Firstly, the weapons with which savage war is carried on are, generally speaking, used in the chase as well.¹³ With the same axe, spear

¹ *King and Fitzroy*, Voyages of the «Adventure» and «Beagle», vol. II, p. 164 sq.

² *Grubb*, The Indians of Paraguayan Chaco, p. 87.

³ *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 214.

⁴ *Speck*, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, p. 84.

⁵ *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 565.

⁶ *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 312.

⁷ *Gatschet*, The Creek Indians, p. 158.

⁸ *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 345.

⁹ *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 273.

¹⁰ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 16, 19.

¹¹ Cf. e. g. *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 93.

¹² Cf. *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305; — *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, pp. 82, 90 sq; — *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, p. 61; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 492; — *Yule*, Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 252.

¹³ *Deniker* writes: — «Aussi les armes offensives sont-elles presque toujours les mêmes pour la chasse que pour la guerre. Chez les demi-civilisés, on voit apparaître cependant en même temps que les armées plus ou moins permanentes, des engins spécialement destinés à la guerre, ainsi que les travaux de défense: murailles, palissades, chausse-trapes, fosses de protection, parfois remplies d'eau, etc.» — *Deniker*, Races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305. — See also *Pinkerton*, Collection of Voyages, vol. IX, p. 501; — *Steinen*, Op. cit. p. 214; — *Grubb*, Op. cit. p. 87; — *Speck*, Op. cit. p. 84. — According to Mr. Stewart, the spears are used among the Meekirs in Northern Cachar as tools since the people ceased to carry on wars. — *Stewart*, Notes on Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XXIV, 1855, p. 605. — With reference to the aborigines in New Guinea Mr. Krieger observes: — «Oft sind die Waffen nur Schmuckgegenstände. Sehr häufig

and arrow which the savage makes use of in striking down animals, he also rushes upon or treacherously kills his human enemy. Secondly, the resemblance between the chase and war among savages is connected with the belief that there does not exist any essential difference between animals and man himself. An old Blackfeet chief, Brings-down-the-Sun, made the remark: — »At one time animals and we were able to understand each other. We can still talk to the animals, just as we do to the people, but they now seldom reply, excepting in dreams. We are then obedient to them and do whatever they tell us. Whenever we are in danger, or distress, we pray to them, and they often help us. Many of the animals are friendly to man. They are able to read the future and give us warning of what will happen». ¹ The best illustration as to the alleged relations in general between men and animals is given by Westermarck: — »He (the savage) regards all animals as practically on a footing of equality with man. He believes that they are endowed with feelings and intelligence like men, . . . that they have various languages like human tribes, that they possess souls which survive the death of the bodies just as is the case with human souls. He tells of animals that have been the ancestors of men, of men that have become animals, of marriages that take place between men and beasts. He also believes that he who slays an animal will be exposed to the vengeance either of its disembodied spirit, or

sieht man in den Dörfern schöne mit Federn geschmückte Freundschaftsspeere und auf Bilibili hat man Schwerter aus Palmenholz auch wohl mehr zum Schmuck als zum Streit». *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 202. — In his careful inquiry into primitive warfare Lane Fox points out that this employment of implements for peaceful and warlike ends at the same time is not limited to mere savages; on the contrary, as late as in the general rising of the Tyrolese against Bonaparte, the Polish revolts and other similar occasions, axes and agricultural tools have been largely employed. — *Lane Fox*, *Primitive Warfare*; in *Journ. United Service Inst.* vol. XII, p. 406 sq. — See also for example *Hume*, *History of England*, vol. V, p. 479, as to naval warfare.

¹ *McClintock*, *Old North Trail*, p. 476; cf. p. 167.

of all the other animals of the same species which, quite after human fashion, are bound to resent the injury done to one of their number». ¹ An immediate result of this belief ² is the conviction of the primitive man that he must avoid killing animals needlessly, and even when engaged in »lawful» hunting he feels it necessary to try to appease his victims and their kinsfolk; this has fully been illustrated by Westermarck ³ and Frazer. ⁴ Considering then that savages do not find any essential difference between men and animals, and therefore look upon war and the chase as more or less identical, and considering further the restrictions on the killing of animals, we have every reason to expect the existence of restrictions on savage warfare also. And in fact, there are abundant statements bearing testimony to this effect, and disproving that state of incessant warfare and meaningless bloodshed between primitive communities which is so often assumed to be universally prevalent among savages. Leaving a closer examination of primitive tactics to a later stage in our inquiry, ⁵ we have now first of all to devote some attention to the question of the cruelty and real seriousness of savage contests.

¹ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, p. 258. For further particulars see vol. I, pp. 249 sqq., 264, 308, and vol. II, chap. XLIV.

² In their interesting description of the Omaha, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche observe: — »Accustomed as we are to classify animals as domesticated or wild, and to regard them as beneath man and subservient to him, it requires an effort to bring the mind to the position in which, when contemplating nature, man is viewed as no longer the master but as one of the many which are endowed with kindred powers, physical and psychical». — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 599. — Cf. also *Spencer and Gillen*, *Across Australia*, Vol. I, p. 90, passim; — *Kalevala*, runo IV, 371—434; XV, 393—537; XLVI, 107—144.

³ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, pp. 252; vol. II, chap. XLIV.

⁴ *Frazer*, *The Golden Bough*, vol. II, p. 396.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 23 n. 3.

One of the most common forms of hostility ¹ between savage units is blood-revenge. The duty of it is not, however, generally vested in the whole social unit ² to which the offended person belonged; hence it does not necessarily give rise to great war expeditions and destructive battles. Among the Australian aborigines ³ blood-revenge is the duty of the nearest relatives. Among the Veddas, according to Messrs. Sarasin, ⁴ similar customs prevail, while Dr. Seligmann states that killing of people who belonged to another unit in order to obtain their liver »gave rise neither to warfare nor to vendettas». ⁵ In Celebes, ⁶ as observed by Padt-Brugge, the Governor there in 1680, it was on the relatives that the duty of performing blood-revenge devolved. As to the Hawaiians, ⁷ the Fijians, ⁸ the Kukies, ⁹ and the Kurds, ¹⁰ similar facts have been collected. Among the

¹ Dr. Steinmetz observes in this connection: — »Nennen wir die Blutrache einfach Krieg und vergleichen wir sie mit unseren Kriegen statt mit unseren Verbrechen und Racheübungen, resp. Strafen, so ist das ganze Rätzel ihrer Erscheinung gelöst». *Ethnologische Studien*, vol. I, p. 365. See *supra* p. 5 sqq.; and also *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, p. 149. — *Grosse*, *Die Formen der Familie*, p. 62.

² Steinmetz remarks: — »Sie wurde nicht durch einen ganzen Stamm, resp. ein ganzes Geschlecht ausgeübt, sondern nur durch nächste Verwandten». *Ethnologische Studien*, vol. I, p. 369 and *passim*. — See also *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I. chap. XX.

³ *Spencer* and *Gillen*, *The Northern Tribes*, p. 557 and *passim*; — *idem*, *The Native Tribes*, *passim*; — *Siebert*, *Sagen und Sitten der Dieri*, in *Globus*, vol. XCVII, 1910, p. 54; — *Dawson*, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 71; — *Wheeler*, *Op. cit.* pp. 138, 149; — *Steinmetz*, *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 52.

⁴ *Sarasin*, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, vol. III, p. 490.

⁵ *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, pp. 34, 62. See also chapter VIII.

⁶ *Sarasin*, *Celebes*, vol. I, p. 43.

⁷ *Ellis*, *Hawaii*, p. 400.

⁸ *Seeman*, *Viti*, p. 31.

⁹ *Lewin*, *Chittagong*, p. 110.

¹⁰ *von Stenin*, *Die Kurden*; in *Globus*, vol. LXX, 1896, p. 224.

Eskimo around Behring Strait ¹ blood-revenge is a sacred duty, which »belongs to the nearest relative«. Turner ² gives the same information as regards the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, and Mr. Boas ³ with respect to the Central Eskimo. Speaking of the Indians in the region of the Grand Lakes, Carver ⁴ states: — »If a violence is committed or blood is shed, the right of revenging these misdemeanours is left to the family of the injured; the Chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting nor moderating the punishment«. According to Lewis Morgan ⁵ blood-revenge among the Iroquois was merely a concern of relatives; this holds good of the Omaha ⁶ and the Ponka ⁷ also. Of the Kickapoo, Kansas and Osage Indians, Hunter ⁸ informs us that blood-revenge was incumbent on the nearest relative. Similar is also the case among the tribes in Columbia, ⁹ and Southern California ¹⁰ and among the Apaches and Comanches. ¹¹ Kane ¹² states that this custom was universal amongst the Indians. As to the aborigines of Brazil, von Martius ¹³ observes that blood-revenge is a matter which above all concerns the injured family.

¹ *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 293.

² *Turner*, Ethnol. of Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 186.

³ *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 582

⁴ *Carver*, Travels in the Interior of North America, p. 259.

⁵ *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 332.

⁶ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 213, 399.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 216.

⁸ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 305.

⁹ *Ross*, Adventures, p. 327.

¹⁰ *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, pp. 409 sq., 417.

¹¹ *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 509.

¹² *Kane*, Wanderings among the Indians, p. 115. See for further particulars as to Indians and Eskimo, *Hooper*, Tuski, pp. 273 sq., 357 sq., 367 sq.; and *Maine*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 292.

¹³ *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 73.

Similarly, Dobrizhoffer writes: — »Whenever an Abipon dies by the hand of an enemy, the nearest relation of the deceased takes it upon himself to avenge his death». ¹

Among the Barea and Kunama tribes in North-Eastern Africa the relatives of the murdered man are entitled without any interference on the part of the relatives of the culprit to avenge the crime. ² In his study of the customs of the warlike Masai, Merker ³ states that blood-revenge is a concern of the nearest relatives. Among the Kabyles ⁴ of Algeria we meet with similar customs as well as in early times among the Aryan population in India, in Greece, ⁵ among the old Vikings, ⁶ the early Germans ⁷, the pagan Irish ⁸ and Finns ⁹.

Moreover, it is not only in the case of blood-revenge¹⁰ that savage warfare is restricted to smaller groups within the entire unit. According to Wheeler, ¹¹ attacks among the Australian aborigines are carried out only by the particular local group offended, not by the tribal whole to which it belongs. Describing the Central Eskimo, Mr. Boas writes: — »Real wars or fights between settlements, I believe, have never happened, but contests have always been confined to single families». ¹² Among

¹ *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 368.

² *Munzinger*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 498 sq.

³ *Merker*, *Die Masai*, p. 206 sq. — For further particulars with regard to the natives in Africa see *e. g.* *Post*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. I, p. 57 sqq.

⁴ *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, *La Kabylie*, vol. III, p. 61.

⁵ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, p. 478. — As for the Albanians see *Leake*, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. I, 84 sq; — *Robert*, *Les Slaves de Turquie*, vol. II, p. 134.

⁶ *Strinholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. II, p. 67 sq.

⁷ *Dahn*, *Die Germanen*, p. 40 sqq.

⁸ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. III, p. 89.

⁹ *Yrjö-Koskinen*, *Suom. heimojen yhteisk.-järj.* p. 171.

¹⁰ For further part. *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, chap. XX.

¹¹ *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, p. 120. Cf. pp. 117, 153.

¹² *Boas*, *The Central Eskimo*; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 465.

such a warlike race as the North American Indians, early wars had an essentially private character. Thus, speaking of the Indian tribes in general, Mr. Dorsey states: — »They had no wars of long duration; in fact wars between one Indian tribe and another scarcely ever occurred, but there were occasional battles, perhaps one or two in the course of a season». ¹ A natural consequence of this character of their wars was that it was not compulsory on the warriors of the community to join the war party. ²

In Western Africa one of the most warlike nations are the Fans. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Lenz, it is not battles in our meaning of the word that these peoples fight. Their warfare really consists in no more than one family letting another know that for such and such a reason there will be hostility from that day forth between the two parties. It is now only a matter of each side trying to capture and kill single members of the other side who may happen to be in the forest far from their abodes while hunting or for any other purpose. It is seldom that two big bodies of negroes are ranged against one another to fight; and, if this happens, fighting comes to an end as soon as one or more persons have been put out of fighting. The beaten side then flees as quickly as possible into its forests and fortified places, there to await an opportunity for revenge. ³ Similar customs have prevailed among the warlike Ilongotes in Luzon. ⁴ So also if a Mafulu community in New Guinea was attacked by the Ambo or Kuni natives »there would apparently be no thought of other Mafulu-speaking communities, as such, coming to assist in repelling the attack.» ⁵

Savage warfare seems to be no more serious in many of the cases where entire communities wage war upon each other.

¹ *Dorsey*, *Omaha Sociology*; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

² *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *Op. cit.* p. 408; — *Dorsey*, *Op. cit.* p. 312 sq.; — *Idem*, *War Customs*; in *American Naturalist*, vol. XVIII, pp. 115, 132; — *Mc Kenney* and *Hall*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 116; — *Sproat*, *Op. cit.* p. 153.

³ *Lenz*, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, p. 91.

⁴ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 409.

⁵ *Williamson*, *The Mafulu Mountain People*, p. 82 sq.

Speaking of the Marquesas Islanders, Dr. Toutain remarks: — »Les guerres étaient en général peu meurtrières, car il y avait rarement de véritables batailles. Elles consistaient en un état d'hostilité se traduisant par des embuscades, des surprises d'une case, l'enlèvement d'un isolé, d'une pirogue qui s'écartait». ¹ In New Caledonia the battle ceases very soon, because it »devient complète pour la troisième ou quatrième victime qu'un parti est obligé d'enlever et de défendre dans la fuite.» ² With reference to the Hawaiians, Ellis states that once the chief was killed his people immediately ran away, ³ and similar statements are made by Abel ⁴ and Guise in their descriptions of some tribes of New Guinea. Guise ⁵ observes that the contests are »of but short duration, as a man or two wounded on one side it is considered sufficient excuse for that side to run away». Dr. Loria ⁶ similarly states of these natives that when the assailants succeed in capturing or killing one person, they do not care to run the risk of losing any of their men, and »gladly listen to the voice of any one of them who says, 'Let us go back and eat him', and return to their canoes carrying with them the slain or captured person». ⁷ According to Captain Cook and the missionary John Williams, the aborigines of Niue were most ferocious warriors; but Mr Basil Thomson ⁸ substantially modifies this statement and remarks that even their weapons were of a rather harmless

¹ *Toutain*, Dépopulation de l'Archipel des Marquises; in *L'Anthropologie*, vol. IX, 1898, p. 426.

² *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 205.

³ *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 115.

⁴ *Abel*, Savage Life, p. 134.

⁵ *Guise*, Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1898, p. 213.

⁶ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 543.

⁷ So also Mr. Williamson points out that »the primary object of an attack has usually been accomplished when the attacking party has killed one of their opponents». — The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea, p. 180.

⁸ *Thomson*, Savage Island, pp. 121 sq., 127 sq.

quality.¹ Meinicke² does not give a favourable account of the character of the Melanesians in general. They are rude, warlike, and excitable. Nevertheless, Dr. Codrington³ testifies that the slaughter in their wars is insignificant. With regard to a really fierce warrior race, the Maori, Mr. Taylor⁴ gives an account to the effect that »before firearms were introduced the battle was chiefly a trial of skill and strength between the principal chiefs, and the fall of one was often the signal of flight of his people»; and even in the case of a general fight the slaughter was inconsiderable.⁵ In his careful inquiry into the intertribal relations in Australia, Wheeler shows that »warfare proper is exceptional»,⁶ and that in regulated or juridical fights in general once a man falls wounded the fight is over and both sides unite in caring for him. In these fights deaths seldom occur.⁷ Accordingly, he declares, »nothing is further from the truth than the state of hostility described in the average accounts». ⁸ As further evidence for Mr. Wheeler's conclusions the following statements may be added. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that the fighting of the natives is »not, usually, a very serious matter, at all events within the tribe», while with regard to intertribal combats they state that such actions »except in very small scale, do not take place». ⁹ The aborigines in Cape York select an equal number of men to take part in their regulated fighting, and as soon as some one is wounded the combat ceases.¹⁰ As to the juridical fighting in general among the

¹ Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 131.

² Meinicke, *Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans*, vol. I, p. 59.

³ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 305 sq.

⁴ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 258.

⁵ Gudgeon, *The Whence of the Maori*; in *Journ. Polynesian Soc.* vol. XII, p. 174.

⁶ Wheeler, *Op. cit.* p. 154. »There are no examples of regularly organized warfare in Australia», p. 59.

⁷ Wheeler, *Op. cit.* pp. 140, 147, 155.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 74.

⁹ Spencer and Gillen, *Across Australia*, vol. I, p. 199.

¹⁰ McGillivray, *The Voyage of »Rattlesnake»*, vol. I, p. 314.

Australians, Mr. Mathews writes that the belligerents take care not to give a mortal blow, because they are fully aware of the »consequences at another time». ¹ Speaking of the Lushei Thangluah and Sailo, Shakespear remarks that in a war between these peoples, which lasted »from about 1833 to 1850 about six villages were destroyed on each side, but except on one occasion, but few lives were lost.» ² Similarly the Naga tribes aim in their battles more at blows than actual killing. ³

Among the Oakinacken Indians, »the moment a chief . . . falls, fighting gives place to mourning; they get discouraged and instantly fly without disgrace, and the battle is ended». ⁴ Of the Columbian Indians, Franchère states that in their wars both parties collect partisans, and if, before the commencing of hostilities, the negotiations fail, the combat begins and is continued for some time »with fury on both sides; but as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these owns itself beaten and the battle ceases». The chief reason for the comparative harmlessness of their combats is the inefficiency of their offensive weapons and the excellence of their defensive arms. ⁵ Among the Chinooks, if the efforts for peace were not successful, fighting took place, »but the battles were of a short duration and accompanied by little bloodshed; the fall of a few warriors decided the victory; the victors gained their point in the original dispute, the vanquished paid some damages, and the affair ended». ⁶ Among the Californian Indians, battles though frequent were not attended with much loss of life. »Each

¹ *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XXXVIII, 1906, p. 945.

² *Shakespear*, Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 56.

³ *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113 sqq.

⁴ *Ross*, Adventures, p. 390.

⁵ *Franchère*, Op. cit. p. 252.

⁶ *Bancroft*, The Native Races, vol. I. p. 236. — *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. I, pp. 88, 105 sq.; — *Cox*, Adventures, vol. I. p. 322 sq.; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 124.

side was anxious for the fight to be over, and the first blood would often terminate the contest». ¹ The fighting of the Apaches had «more the character of assassination and murder than warfare». ² The military ambition of the Blackfeet was satisfied when the war party had succeeded in killing one adversary, and great festivities were arranged on account of a single scalp. ³ Speaking of the Iroquois, Hennepin says: — «They count him a good warrior, that is cunning at surprising his Enemies. If they can escape handsomely, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows.» ⁴ «Protracted warfare», Mr. Dorsey remarks, «or fighting for several days in succession, has not been the Omaha custom». ⁵ On the contrary, careful inquiries have made clear that among this people «war was secondary»; its true function was protective, whereas aggressive warfare was discouraged, as «any gains made by it were more than offset by the troubles entailed». ⁶ Hence the restriction was laid on predatory warfare, that all who went on the war-path should secure permission. ⁷ If a man who organized a war party secretly stole away to carry out his designs for revenge or the acquiring of spoil, and in the fighting lost a member of his party, he was punished as a murderer. ⁸ Accordingly, the war parties were as a rule small, ⁹ and it could often happen that when one single adversary was killed the war party returned home. ¹⁰ Similar customs were prevalent among the Ponca, Padousa, and Osages. Thus, according to an old tradition,

¹ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 379.

² *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 496.

³ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 420.

⁴ *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 96.

⁵ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnoi. p. 327.

⁶ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 211.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 210 sq.

⁸ Op. cit. pp. 211, 404 sq.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 408, passim.

¹⁰ Op. cit. pp. 408, 431, sqq.

the Ponca and Padousa tribes once »had a great battle. The people fought all day long. Sometimes the Ponca were driven, sometimes the Padousa, until at last a Ponca shot a Padousa in the eye. Then the battle ceased». ¹ And Dr. Dorsey states of the Osages that even large war parties acquiesced in the fall of one of the enemy as deciding the conflict. ² The Apalachites in the Antilles carried on their wars very humanely. ³ According to Clavigero, ⁴ the bravery of the Mexican soldiers in the 13th century was not estimated by the number of enemies who were slain, but of those who were made prisoners. The same author adds that »when the standard of the army was taken by the enemy or their general fell, they all fled, nor was it possible then by any human art to rally or recall them». ⁵ Similarly »the Nigaraguans fought desperately until their leaders fell, but then they always ran away». ⁶

Of the very warlike Abipones, Dobrizhoffer states ⁷ that »they always desire to conquer, but are never willing to die. They will curse a victory obtained at the expense of one of their countrymen's lives. They abhor triumphal hymns if mingled with funeral lamentations, and would reject a victory accompanied by the sighs of one mourning widow or orphan». ⁸ If it comes to an open combat, it is commenced with the shooting of arrows, and subsequently they will come to close fighting with a spear. »Neither then, however, will the plain be inundated with human blood. The savages have indeed great power in dealing blows, but they have still greater swiftness in eluding them. The whole combat is often confined to threats and vociferations . . . Terri-

¹ Op. cit. p. 79.

² *Dorsey*, War Customs; in *American Naturalist*, vol. XVIII, pp. 116, 126 sq.

³ *Rocheport*, *Iles Antilles*, p. 411.

⁴ *Clavigero*, *The History of Mexico*, vol. I, p. 120.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 372.

⁶ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 746.

⁷ *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 347.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 348.

fied at the slaughter of a very few of their fellow soldiers, they desert their leader and escape how they can». ¹ As regards the battles of the Araucanians, Molina says that »they are generally unaccompanied with the fusion of blood», and are confined to pillage alone. ² Among the Patagonians and the Fuegians, wars do not last long. ³ Warfare is desultory and on a very small scale. ⁴

Passing over to Africa, we meet with similar facts. Of the warfare of the Waganda, Casati writes: — »They are fierce in battle, but only as long as reserves are in the rear ready to strengthen the weak and threatened position, for should they be unsupported or hard pressed they quickly take to flight. The death of a chief also has a discouraging effect upon them». ⁵ Describing a war between »the great Chief of Nunda» and a petty chief, Speke ⁶ observes that during the whole of the two years' warfare the loss was only three men on each side; and this remark seems to hold good of many other wars among the natives of East Africa. ⁷ Thus even the Masai, who consider themselves the true warrior race by divine grace, and the true owners of the cattle of the neighbouring tribes, by no means always wage very destructive wars. After a cattle raid, as Thomson observes, there may be »more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it». ⁸ The warfare of their neighbours is of a similar kind. Among the Wataturu, the fighting ceases when a few men are slain. ⁹ Of the Wafiumi, ¹⁰ we are

¹ *Dobrizhoffer*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 420 sq.

² *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 67.

³ *King and Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 159.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 179.

⁵ *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. II, p. 79.

⁶ *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 100.

⁷ *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, pp. 126 sq.

⁸ *Thomson*, Through Masai Land, p. 255.

⁹ *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 173.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 179.

told that the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts do not make war upon each other, but only beat each other with their long sticks. In the wars of the Wambugwe, there is said to be little bloodshed; they do not even take goats or cattle as spoil, only fowl and household utensils.¹ But all this does not refer to wars with the Masai, who are bitterly hated and to whom no mercy is shown. Of the Kabyles of Algeria, we are told that their wars are never very murderous. »Tout se borne, en général, à des combats de tirailleurs à longue distance. Chaque homme se glisse en rampant dans les ravins et les broussailles et, profitant de tous les accidents du terrain, des arbres, des rochers, s'embusque et tire à couvert. Lorsque la fusillade a duré un temps raisonnable, les deux partis se retirent . . . Les hostilités ne continuent . . . que pour arriver à une égalité de pertes». ² The battles of the Mameluks were often decided by the death of two or three persons.³

While savage combats are thus often little else than comparatively harmless skirmishes, we indeed hear from many authorities that squabbles often play the most important part in their wars. In New Guinea the combat was begun⁴ by means of insulting words, and in Savage Island combats consisted mainly of vociferations.⁵ Of the Maori, Mr. Polack⁶ states that in their fighting there was more noise than anything else. As to the Samoans,⁷ when two war parties meet, before beginning to fight they sometimes pause to abuse each other systematically

¹ *Baumann*, Op. cit. p. 188.

² *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, *La Kabylie*, vol. II, 73 sq.

³ *Chasseboeuf de Volney*, *Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. I, p. 106.

⁴ *Guise*, *Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of Wanigela River, New Guinea*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1898, p. 213.

⁵ *Thomson*, *Savage Island*, p. 131 sq.

⁶ *Polack*, *New Zealand*, vol. II, p. 43.

⁷ *Pritchard*, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 56; — *Turner*, *Polynesia*, pp. 303, 353.

and to deliver speeches of defiance and challenge. This seems to have been universal in Polynesia. Thus Ratzel observes that everywhere in Polynesia there is much wordy warfare and little of fighting; even in serious warfare words play the leading part; ¹ and the long experience of Ellis confirms this conclusion. ² In the fights of the Australian ³ natives it often happens that there is more vociferation than bloodshed. In Africa the Ba-Huana ⁴ begin their battles with vehement abuse; indeed, owing to the inclination for diplomacy, as Ratzel ⁵ observes, the natives of Africa in general combat each other more by means of words than by active contests. The Indians of North America seem likewise to have been addicted to similar customs, ⁶ and so also among the Abipones vociferations predominated in their wars. ⁷ Speaking of primitive warfare in general, Deniker ⁸ affirms that it consists more of shouting and terrifying than of serious fighting, and that, consequently, there are few slain.

That too much stress has often been laid on the horrors of primitive warfare is also apparent from the customs which aim at preventing, or at least mitigating, the destructive effects of war. Of the Australian aborigines, Wheeler ⁹ observes that, instead of a fierce state of constant warfare, the intra- and inter-tribal relations are strictly regulated, and actual war rela-

¹ »Ueberall in Polynesia hört man viel Wortgefechte und sieht wenig Streit; auch im ernsthaftem Kriege spielen Worte eine Hauptrolle« — Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 176.

² *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 486 sq.

³ *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 79. — *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes in Central Australia, p. 490.

⁴ *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1906, p. 289. — This is the case of the Bayaka also. — *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136.

⁵ »Streit mit Worten stat mit Thaten«. Op. cit. vol II, p. 31.

⁶ *Thevet*, La France Antartique, p. 73. — Bancroft, Op. cit. vol. I, 379, passim.

⁷ *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 420 sq.

⁸ *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 305 sq.

⁹ *Wheeler*, Op. cit. chap. VIII and IX.

tively seldom occurs; strifes are usually settled by means of juridical fighting, and notice is given to the enemy many weeks before.¹ Among the aborigines of New Guinea, according to Mr. Krieger,² due notice is given before commencing hostilities. In the Fiji Islands »when war is decided upon between two powers, a formal message to that effect is interchanged». ³ According to Mr. Thomson⁴, the Fijians, when they were preparing for war, aimed at obtaining allies. Meanwhile, »the other side were kept fully informed of these preliminary negotiations and had made similar preparations. No formal declaration of war was therefore necessary, though there were instances of it». Among the aborigines of Formosa⁵ no hostilities occurred before actual warning had been given. Even the cruel head-hunters of Borneo⁶ did not hesitate to render their undertakings more difficult by sending similar messages. The peaceful Tenae⁷ in Bengal, when punishing marauders, »declare hostilities and march openly to attack their enemies». So also the rapacious Masai⁸ in East Africa send due notice before starting for their cattle raids. The Californian tribes challenge their enemies by placing three little sticks notched in the middle and at both ends on a mount which marked the boundary between the two tribes. »If the adversaries accept, they tie a string round the middle notch. Heralds then meet, and the battle comes off as appointed». ⁹ The Columbian Indians give notice before starting

¹ *McGillivray*, The Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 7.

² *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 200.

³ *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 44.

⁴ *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 89.

⁵ *Hulsius*, Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 36.

⁶ *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 411.

⁷ *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 35. — In the wars of the Naga tribes the time and place for battle is arranged beforehand. — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113 sqq.

⁸ *Hinde*, The Last of the Masai, p. 65.

⁹ *Bancroft*, The Native Tribes of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 379.

hostilities; nay they do all they can to terminate the affair amicably: sometimes a third party becomes mediator. »If those who seek justice do not obtain it to their satisfaction, they retire to some distance and the combat begins . . . But as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these owns itself beaten and the battle ceases». ¹ Cox ² affirms that this holds good especially of the Chinook Indians. According to Morgan, ³ not even the Iroquois neglected to inform their enemies of the commencement of war. In Northern Mexico »sometimes the day fixed for the battle is announced to the enemy, and a spot on which the fight is to take place selected.» ⁴ — Among all the ancient Mexican nations »it was a breach of international etiquette to proceed to war without giving due notice to the enemy, and military law prescribed that three embassies should be despatched before commencing hostilities». ⁵ In Honduras, ambassadors were sent to challenge the enemy to a pitched battle. ⁶ — Similar customs prevailed among the early Romans. ⁷

Not merely is the enemy thus in many cases duly warned beforehand, but also during the fighting itself certain rules are observed which tend to mitigate the destructive harshness of war. There are instances of savages deciding to confine the battle to a simple duel. As a matter of fact, with primitive weapons, even a general engagement is made up, as a rule, of a series of single combats. ⁸ Yet, *e. g.* among the Maori, the duel »was a great institution», says Best. »Not only on the battle

¹ *Franchère*, Op. cit. p. 251.

² *Cox*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 322.

³ *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 339.

⁴ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 581.

⁵ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 420. — Cf. *Clavigero*, The History of Mexico vol. I, p. 370.

⁶ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 723.

⁷ See *e. g.* *Plutarch*, Publicola 16; — *Jähns*, Krieg, Frieden und Kultur, p. 128.

⁸ See *e. g.* *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 113; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 198.

fields did such encounters occur, but during quarrels concerning women, land, etc». ¹ Duels as a mode of settling disputes are to be observed also among other savages. ²

Relatives have often a particularly restraining influence upon hostilities. Dr. Rivers ³ states with reference to the aborigines of Torres Strait, that if two men were fighting, certain relatives of either of them had the power of stopping the fight. The relation who possessed this power in the highest degree was the *wadwam*. ⁴ The *wadwam* of a man could make him desist from fighting immediately by a mere word or by simply holding up his hand. »This power was so pronounced that even tribal fights would be stopped if a man on one side saw his *wadwam* on the opposite side». Other relatives also were entitled to stop the intertribal combat. ⁵ In Murray Islands ⁶ a similar custom was prevalent. Among the Roro-speaking tribes and also among the Mekeo the chiefs of clans had, as Dr. Seligmann ⁷ observes, the right of stopping a fight. ⁸ Of the Maori, Mr. Best states

¹ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 37.

² *Spencer and Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 199; — *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 29; — and above all, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, chap. XXI.

³ Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V., p. 144.

⁴ *Wadwam* = mothers' brother and sister's child. — *Babat* = name of brother for sister and of sister for brother. *Ngaibat* or *kutapu* = father's sister and brother's child. Reports of the Exp. to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 129. — »This term (*Wadwam*) was applied by both men and women to all those whom the mother would call *babat*» Op. cit. p. 134. — »The husband of a *ngaibat* was also called *wadwam*» Op. cit. p. 135.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. V, p. 145.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. VI, p. 100.

⁷ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 216, 345.

⁸ Of the natives in Micronesia we read: — »Nun haben sich die Bewohner der einzelnen Inseln häufig zu selbstständigen politischen Einheiten zusammengeschlossen, die sich gelegentlich untereinander bekämpfen. In solchem Kriegen stehen demnach in den feindlichen Lagern Angehörige derselben Sippen. Allein das Gefühl der Blutbrüderschaft erweist sich stärker als die politische Feindschaft; sobald sich zwei Krieger

that a person related to both sides in war was often spared although living with the enemy and probably caught in arms against the tribe that spared him. »A *taharua*, or person related to two tribes, would often pass to and fro between the opposing camps when those tribes were at war». ¹ Among the Eskimo in Alaska ² relatives were neutral when their communities happened to be at war with each other. — Important restrictions are also incumbent on the members of different clans having the same totem. Thus in New Guinea, according to Dr. Chalmers, ³ fighting between members of the same totem clan was strictly forbidden. In Kiwai Island it was a fixed law in battle that no man should attack or slay another who bore the same totemic crest as himself. Strangers even from hostile tribes could safely visit villages where there were clans with the same totems as their own. ⁴ The Kutchin Indians are divided into three metonymic exogamous totem »castes», says Bancroft. »This system operates strongly against war between tribes; as in war it is caste against caste, and not tribe against tribe. As the father is never of the same caste as the son, who receives caste from his mother, there can never be intertribal war without ranging fathers and sons against each other». ⁵ Very extensive among the Haidah Indians also were the duties of members of the same totem, although otherwise these might be enemies to each other. Moreover »in war it was not tribe against tribe, but division against division, and as the children were never of the same caste as the father, the children would be against the father and

als 'puipui', d. h. als Sippenverwandte erkannt haben, dürfen sie sich nichts zu Leide thun, sondern sie müssen sich im Kampfe ausweichen.» — *Kubary*, in Mittheilungen der Geogr. Gesellschaft, Hamburg 1878—9: quoted by *Grosse*, Die Formen der Familie, p. 147 sq.

¹ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War, in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 220.

² *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 329.

³ *Chalmers*, New Guinea; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1903, pp. 144, 161, 188.

⁴ *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. II, p. 37.

⁵ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I., p. 132. — See also vol. I. p. 109.

the father against the children, part of one tribe against part of another, and part against itself, so that there would have been a pretty general confusion». ¹

Moreover this restriction of killing is in many cases extended also so as to include all the adversaries who are not carrying arms, or at any rate have ceased to offer further resistance. Among the aborigines of Torres Strait, Padaugarka was the name given to a peaceful man who would not fight even when the rest of the men were engaged in fighting. The enemy noticed the fact, and when they returned home they mentioned it, and in future they would not attack him nor his family. ² Among all the Australian aborigines, even in the most cruel form of their warfare — nightly surprises — women and children, as a rule, are not slain. ³ According to Seeman, ⁴ the Fijians display a certain leniency towards women, and Turner ⁵ states that among the Samoans only cowards would kill women. The Masai ⁶ never attack nor kill women; the Wafiumi carry on their wars very humanely. »Even in the case of victory they do not penetrate into the interior of the enemy's country. Male prisoners of war are not killed, but kept for ransom». ⁷ With reference to the Kabyles, Messrs. Hanoteau and Letourneux observe that when in war an enemy has been made prisoner and, accordingly, ought to be tortured, »un des combattants peut le soulever en le couvrant de son burnous ou en échangeant son fusil avec lui». ⁸ Moreover, »les femmes, qui

¹ *Frazer*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 356 sq. See also *Flescher* and *la Flesche* the Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 56.

² Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. V, p. 302.

³ *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 154.

⁴ *Seeman*, Viti, p. 180.

⁵ *Turner*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 318.

⁶ *Hinde*, The Last of the Masai, pp. 6, 64; — *Thomson*. Through Masai Land, pp. 90, 177.

⁷ *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 179.

⁸ *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. III, p. 79.

dans la vie civile, tiennent si peu de place, . . . par leur présence seule, éloignent la mort et donnent l'ânaia»¹ . . . »Au milieu de cette société, rude jusqu'à la férocité la femme apporte, dans les plis de sa robe, la pitié et miséricorde».²

As to the Indians, there are instances showing that women and children were spared,³ and prisoners were not always tortured, but were well treated and adopted or interchanged. This is the case at least with the Iroquois,⁴ Omaha, Ponka,⁵ Wyandots,⁶ and the Californian tribes.⁷ The Abipones⁸ as a rule spared the unwarlike. The Tenae in Bengal »make war only on men, inflicting no injury whatever on non-combatants».⁹ According to the old Chinese¹⁰ custom of warfare, it was not considered right »to rush on those who were willing to surrender». With reference to the early Germans, Tacitus states: — »To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is unsupportable».¹¹

The tendency of sparing enemies is extended especially to those who have taken refuge in such places as are recognized as asylums. This custom is generally prevalent among the Australian aborigines.¹² In Nissan Island, the hut of the chief served as an asylum.¹³ The tombs of dead chiefs gave shelter to refugees in Tonga.¹⁴ Hence, »if the most inveterate

¹ Op. cit. vol. III, p. 80.

² Op. cit. vol. III, p. 81.

³ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 703. Cf. p. 426.

⁴ *Morgan*, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 344.

⁵ *Dorsey*, *Omaha Sociology*, in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 332.

⁶ *Powell*, *Wyandot Government*; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 68.

⁷ *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 381.

⁸ *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 141.

⁹ *Dalton*, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Medhurst*, *Ancient China*, p. 192.

¹¹ *Tacitus*, *Germania*, 8.

¹² *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 106 sq.

¹³ *Steinmetz*, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 420.

¹⁴ *Meinicke*, *Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans*, vol. II, p. 81.

enemies meet upon this ground they must look upon each other as friends under penalty of the displeasure of the gods». ¹ In Hawaii, as observed by Mr. Ellis, ² two cities were recognized as asylums, both of which afforded during war complete safety to all fugitives, including the vanquished. Describing the Samoans, Turner ³ states that a different district or the houses of the chiefs served as places of refuge. Among the Kukies ⁴ and the Lushais in general ⁵ fugitives found shelter in the huts of the chiefs. This was the case also with the Kafirs, ⁶ the Masai, ⁷ and other native peoples in Africa. ⁸ As to the Indians, the Cherokee, Creeks, ⁹ Apaches, ¹⁰ and others had their »white towns» or other places of refuge to serve as asylums.

Now it is obvious that this widespread institution also greatly contributed to mitigate the warlike character of primitive conditions. ¹¹

The partition of primitive communities into peaceable and belligerent groups had the same end in view, namely, the prevention of too destructive warfare. Of the warlike Galla, we are informed that they are divided into three different classes. The Morán contains the unmarried warriors, the Mórúa are married and never take part in war, and finally the Levelé

¹ *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 95.

² *Ellis*, Tour through Hawaii, pp. 137, 155 sq.

³ *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 285, 334.

⁴ *Lewin*, The Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 100.

⁵ *Shakespeare*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1909, p. 374.

⁶ *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 352.

⁷ *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 206.

⁸ *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. II, p. 37.

⁹ *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 207.

¹⁰ *Bourke*, The Medicine Men of the Apache; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 453.

¹¹ See for further particulars, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, pp. 628—638; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, passim; and *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 106 sq.

are married but at the same time may fight occasionally.¹ This division was most systematically carried out among the Indians. Many Indian tribes says Gatschet,² to the East as well as to the West of the Mississippi, had an old division of the male population into fighting and peaceful groups. It sometimes happened that the peaceful groups separated themselves from the warlike ones and consequently came to carry on their own wars, though much more humanely than the warlike groups.³

¹ Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. II, p. 166.

² *Gatschet*, *Die Osage Indianer*; in *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, 1898, p. 350. See also *Dorsey*, *Siouan Sociology*; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 233 sq.; — *Dorsey*, *War Customs*; in the *American Naturalist*, vol. XVIII, p. 113 sq.; — *Fletcher* and *La Fletsche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 542 sq.

³ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 564.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE

(Continued)

In many cases the savage man has to be specially incited before he can make up his mind to set out on the war-path, and this ill agrees with the opinion that he cares about nothing but war.

In New Guinea¹ the women abuse the men as being »the most wicked cowards» if they do not rush into war, although according to the opinion of the women they ought to have full reason for it. Among the Ba-Huana negroes, »the chief instigators of war are women», Messrs. Torday and Joyce remark, »If the men are peaceably inclined and rather disposed to pocket an insult, the women make fun of them — 'You are afraid, you are not men; we will have no intercourse with you' Then out go the men and fight».² In Somaliland, men who have in war killed an enemy, or even committed a treacherous murder, are entitled to wear ostrich feathers as decoration in their hair, hence the wives of the »undecorated men» scoff at them until they have succeeded in gaining such a trophy.³ With regard

¹ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 390.

² *Torday and Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 289.

³ *von der Decken*, *Reisen*, vol. II, p. 324.

to the North American Indians, among the Apaches¹, for example, if the men return from an unsuccessful expedition, »they are met with jeers and insults» by the women. Likewise Hennepin observes that the Indians engage in war »because other people jeer them. 'You're a Coward,' say they. 'You never were in a battle. You have kill'd no Body yet'». ² This was the case also with other Indians of North America. ³ Of the ancient Spartans, Grote observes that the warlike spirit of men greatly depended upon »the sympathy of the other sex, which manifested itself publicly . . . to the exaltation of the brave as well as to the abasement of the recreant.» ⁴

Women have even a more active part in the pursuit of hostilities. When fighting is going on between Australian aborigines, women are present egging on the men. ⁵ Among the aborigines of Kiwai Island, in British New Guinea, the women follow the men to the fight because »the men say they are a great encouragement to them, as they urge them on, and they also create a feeling that they must be protected». ⁶ Similarly Mr. Williamson and Dr. Seligmann state that these women follow their fighting men in the expedition, their duty being to »encourage the fighters on the way and during the fight by their singing». ⁷ Moreover, if they ran away »the fighting men would follow them». ⁸ Information to the same effect is given by Dr. Codrington⁹ with regard to other Melanesians. The Omaha, Ponka, and Osage women had special magic songs »to send strength to the absent warriors on the battlefields». When a war party was away, it was the custom for women, particularly of the poorer class, to

¹ Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 489.

² Hennepin, *Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, vol. II, p. 72.

³ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

⁴ Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. II, p. 307.

⁵ Wheeler, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, p. 45.

⁶ Chalmers, *Natives of Kiwai*; in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1903, p. 122.

⁷ Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People*, p. 183.

⁸ Seligmann, *The Melanesians*, p. 296.

⁹ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 306 n.

go to the tents of some of the absent warriors and there sing some of these *wé'to" waa"*. »It was believed that by some telepathic process courage and increased strength thus were imparted to the man who was battling». ¹ In return they obtained gifts. Moreover, women also followed war parties in order to strengthen the courage of warriors. ² Of the early Germans, Tacitus writes that »their tenderest pledges are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his wife and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives». ³ Similar details about the early Gauls are given by Caesar. ⁴

Bravery is encouraged not merely by the fear of being ridiculed and the strong feeling of the duty of protecting relatives present in battle, but also by the knowledge that cowardice will incur punishment afterwards. If a Mojave is taken prisoner and he should return, »his mother even will not own him». ⁵ Among the ancient Maya, he who from cowardice failed to do his duty in war was »abused, insulted, stripped of his weapons, and discharged from the service». ⁶ These are but characteristic examples out of a large number. ⁷ We need only refer to the practice so common *e.g.* among the Wahuma in East Africa, where »the runaways are drilled with red-hot iron until they are men no longer and die», ⁸ fully to realize that such serious punishment

¹ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 421. — See also pp. 407, 423, 426.

² *Op. cit.* p. 247. — Cf. *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 312.

³ *Tacitus*, *Germania*, 7; — *Idem*, *History*, IV. 18 and *passim*.

⁴ *Caesar*, *De Bello Gallico*, I, 51; VII, 48.

⁵ *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 499.

⁶ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 746.

⁷ *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 764, *passim*; — *Caesar*, *De Bello Gallico*, VII, 66.

⁸ *Speke*, *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 212. — As for punishment among other peoples in East Africa, see pp. 324, 367, 381, 392, 430, 437.

would hardly be required if a fierce love of fighting were really as innate in the savage character as it seems to be assumed in certain modern philosophies of war.

Further, the warlike instincts of savages are in many cases excited by their leaders, who make use *e. g.* of elaborate speeches. Thus, among the Maori, before starting a battle, the leaders generally made appeal to the passions of the army. »The reasons of the conflict», says Mr. S. Percy Smith,¹ »are set forth with all the peculiar powers of Maori oratory The pride of the tribe, their honour, their wives and their children, and bravery of their ancestors, the spirits of the departed, their own lives now menaced — every fact and circumstance dear to them is invoked, and all the powers of their wild poetry and savage rhetoric employed to influence the passion of war and stimulate bravery». Similarly, Ellis² informs us that during fighting among the Polynesians it devolved on special men to glorify the bravery of their ancestors, and in this manner to arouse and excite the pugnacious instincts of the belligerents. In ancient China, before starting the fight the commanders delivered speeches, bidding their men, for example, to »emulate military ardour like tigers and panthers, like bears and hyenas.»³ Nor were the early Greeks,⁴ Romans⁵ and Germans⁶ unfamiliar with this mode of exciting the warlike ardour of their armies.

In other cases the pugnaciousness of savage warriors is increased by prospects of rewards. Thus, in New Guinea, marks of distinction are bestowed upon the brave. Therefore, says Krieger⁷ »the desire to obtain such marks causes often feuds

¹ *Smith*, Wars of the Northern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 151.

² *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 486 sq.

³ *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 192.

⁴ See *e. g.* *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, V. 68, *passim*.

⁵ *E. g.* *Tacitus*, History III. 20; V. 16; *passim*.; *Idem*, The Annals, I. 67.

⁶ *E. g.* *Tacitus*, History, V. 17, *passim*.

⁷ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 320.

between neighbouring villages». The Fijian heroes obtain as rewards special titles¹ or certain rights with regard to women.² Among the Kafirs³ it was only after successful raids and war expeditions that the warriors obtained the right of marrying. Great rewards were also given to the brave among the Wahuma and other neighbouring tribes.⁴ In Somaliland, everybody who had killed an enemy was entitled to wear an ostrich feather as a decoration.⁵ Most of the Indians of North America used particular gradations, or they availed themselves of special »war honours» and decorations, to show the rank of individuals and to stimulate the military ardour of the warriors.⁶ Among the Sia, nobody could become a member of the Society of Warriors who had not himself obtained a scalp.⁷ In Central America this custom reached its highest development. Nobility was conferred on him who was wounded in war, and he was further rewarded with lands, with some distinguished women, and with military command.⁸

Many other customs aim at the same end. The Australian aborigines make raids in order to obtain skulls of the slain, and thus »to gain glory and the approbation of their women.»⁹ In Murray Island¹⁰ »the skulls of their slain enemies were preserved

¹ *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 55.

² *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 98 sq.; — *Williams and Calvert*, Op. cit., vol. I, p. 48.

³ *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 123.

⁴ *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, pp. 212, 303, passim.

⁵ *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 324.

⁶ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 333; — *Gatschet*, Creek Indians, pp. 158—164; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 124, 358 sq., 437 sq., 439 sq.

⁷ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 121.

⁸ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 764. — The same custom is found among the early Romans, e. g. *Caesar*, Op. cit. III, 26.

⁹ Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. V, p. 298.

¹⁰ *Hunt*, Ethnographical Notes on the Murray Islands; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1898, p. 12.

as a proof of their success». Similarly in New Hebrides ¹ the skulls served as war trophies. According to Turner, ² in Samoa the skull bestowed an immense honour on the captor. »To a young Samoan», asserts Pritchard, ³ »this is the realization of his highest ambition — to be publicly thanked by the Chief for slaying an enemy in mortal combat, as he careers before his comrades with the reeking head of his foe in his hand.» Among the early natives of Formosa, says Hulsius, ⁴ a man who had obtained a skull was looked upon as such a hero that nobody dared publicly speak to him during the first fortnight. Among the Manobo ⁵ in the Philippines, the Pakatans ⁶ in Borneo, and the Kukies, ⁷ the skulls were held to prove the bravery of the warriors. Thus, speaking of the latter people, Macrae states that each warrior had his own pile of heads, and, according to the number it consists of, »his character as hunter or warrior is established in his tribe». ⁸ This is the case also as regards certain Eskimo communities ⁹ as well as some Indian tribes in South America. Thus the Chaco Indians ¹⁰ and Abipones ¹¹ regard skulls as conferring great merit on the captor. ¹²

¹ *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 202.

² *Turner*, Samoa, p. 192; — *Idem*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 301 sq.

³ *Pritchard*, Polynesian Reminiscences, p. 57.

⁴ *Hulsius*, Eine Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 38.

⁵ *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 63.

⁶ *St. John*, Life in the Forests of the Far East, quoted by *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 40.

⁷ *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 111 sq.

⁸ *Macrae*, Account of the Kookies; in Asiatic Researches, vol. VII, p. 195.

⁹ *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 329.

¹⁰ *Grubb*, The Indians of Paraguayan Chaco, p. 87.

¹¹ *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 408 sq.

¹² It is in this connection noteworthy that it was, at least among the lower savages, also an act of great merit to have killed a beast. E. g. among the Shoshone he who had killed a grizzly bear was allowed »to wear

In some cases it is even regarded as an indispensable duty to obtain skulls or other trophies. Thus without skulls the young men in Borneo¹ could hardly marry. Similarly among the aborigines in Kiwai Island,² »no young man could marry, as no woman would have him without skulls», and the more skulls the greater honour. Likewise among the Nagas³ in Bengal the right of being tattooed involved the necessity of having obtained skulls or scalps. In British Columbia⁴ no young Indian was allowed to speak directly to his father-in-law until he had killed an enemy with white hairs. It is well known that the North American Indians in general⁵ measured a man's value by the number of scalps in his possession.⁶ It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that these customs in all cases presupposed warfare. The head-hunters of Borneo

their highest insignia of glory, the feet or claws of the victim». *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 438. The Pygmies in New Guinea have net bags slung over one shoulder and from the corner hang »from one to twenty boar's tusks, trophies of the chase and highly valued by the owner. These tusks note the prowess of the individual, very much in the same way as human scalps did in the old days of the North American Indians.» — *Rawling*, *The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, p. 153.

This fact anew shows the close connection between primitive warfare and the chase; furthermore it proves how erroneous it is to assert that only purely warlike actions brought renown. — Cf. *Letourneau*, *La guerre*, p. 58; — *Von der Decken*, *Reisen*, vol. II, p. 324. — For further particulars see also *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 36 sq.

¹ *Furness*, *The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters*, p. 75.

² *Chalmers*, *The Natives of Kiwai Island*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1903, p. 123.

³ *Dalton*, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 40.

⁴ *Kane*, *Wanderings*, p. 393.

⁵ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 124, 437 sq.; — *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 43 sq.; — *Coxe Stevenson*, *The Sia*; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 121.

⁶ According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Alani likewise esteemed scalps as »the most glorious spoils». — *History of Ammianus Marcellinus*, XXXI, 2.

did not shrink from cutting the throat even of their friends.¹ Among the Nagas it was by no means essential that the skulls or scalps should be trophies of honourable warfare, or that they should even be taken from the bodies of declared enemies. »A skull may be acquired by the blackest treachery, but so long as the victim was not a member of the clan, it was accepted as a chivalrous offering of a true knight to his lady». ² Baron von der Decken ³ states that in Somaliland ordinary murder, even that done by stealth or on those entitled to protection, was not despised when the winning of the ostrich-feather decoration was in question. Duties towards other persons likewise obliged the savage to obtain trophies, procure victims, etc. Many of these customs, however, are more or less closely connected with superstitious beliefs, a fact which is the more significant, as it is apparent that such duties are considered to be the most binding, and therefore also more than anything else are calculated to call forth martiality. With blood-revenge, one of the most common of these features in early social life we have already dealt. Other points will be illustrated later on.

All of the facts which have hitherto been brought forward have reference to the means by which warriors are excited to bravery by other members of their community. But they also try to excite themselves. Not relying upon their alleged »inborn animality», they endeavour in various ways to acquire that pugnacious spirit and martial ardour of which they feel themselves to have need. The more, therefore, the circumstances require warlike qualities, the more we find among savages practices calculated to satisfy these demands. Young boys are systematically trained to become brave, and grown warriors avail themselves of a crowd of means by which to infuse into themselves bravery and a thirst for blood; nay, even such notorious war-

¹ *Furness*, Op. cit. p. 125.

² *Dalton*, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 40. — See also *Hodson*, *Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam*; in *Folklore*, vol. XX. p. 132 sqq.

³ *Von der Decken*, *Reisen*, vol. II, p. 324.

rior-races as the Maori¹ and the North American Indians² before starting on their expeditions did not neglect to arouse their martial ardour through solemn war dances.³ These facts are too well known in Sociology to need an enumeration of examples.⁴

In this respect, however, savages seem to obtain the greatest support from superstition. What he knows himself to be devoid of, that can be secured by means of magic.⁵ Where his own power and ability might soon fail, the aid of the gods is

¹ *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 125; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 47 sq.; — *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 74 sq.

² *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 323.,

³ In their interesting investigations into the life of the Omaha Indians, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche write of the war dance that it was »an appeal to the wolf that the men might partake of his predatory character, of his ability to roam and not be homesick.» — The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 416; cf. p. 419.

⁴ *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 302; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 434 sq; — *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 207; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, chap. II, III.

⁵ *Holsti*, Some Superstitious Customs and Beliefs in Savage Warfare; in »Festskrift tillegnad Edvard Westermarck,» p. 151 sq. — Cf. *Spencer and Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 346 sqq; — *Best*, Notes on the Custom of Rakui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 85; — *Cole* The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1902, pp. 320 sq., 325; — *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Island; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 12; — *McLean*, Kafir Laws and Customs, p. 84; — *Velten*, Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli, p. 103; — *Bannatyne*, Surprises and Stratagems; in United Service Magazine, 1910, p. 182; — *Waddell*, Lhasa and its Mysteries, pp. 173 sq., 471 sq; — *Best*, Tuhoe Land; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXX, p. 40; *Smith*, Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 262 sq.; — *Skeat*, The Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 136; — *Bourke*, The Medicine Men of Apache; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 457; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 50, passim; *Gudgeon*, Maori Religion; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 122; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, p. 76 sq; — *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62; — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, pp. 254, 276; *Kauffmann*, Balder, pp. 224, 230, passim. — See also *supra* n. 3, which shows the war dances of the North American Indians and certain beasts in relation of sympathetic magic.

at hand¹; indeed, of all the factors which stimulate the savage to martiality, superstition is undoubtedly the most weighty.² This is the more obvious as savage warfare is often not merely carried on with a firm belief in supernatural aid, but it is in many cases also begun³ and peace is made on supernatural advice;⁴ nay, it is in many cases looked upon as a sacred

¹ *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 161 sqq. — Cf. *Best*, The Whanga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 54; — *Idem*, Te-Rehu-O-Tainui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VI, pp. 42 sq., 54; 65; — *Gudgeon*, Tipua Kura; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XV, pp. 36, 122; — *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 32; — *Holmes*, The Religious Ideas of the Elemas; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 428; — *Murray*, Japan, p. 72; — *Chavannes*, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. V, p. 48, passim; — *Ragozin*, Assyria, pp. 333, 387; — *Budge and King*, Annals of the Kings of Assyria, vol. I, pp. 84, 114, 133 sq., passim; — *N. M. Petersen*, Nordisk Mytologi, p. 177; — *Virgil*, Aeneis, VII, 618 sq.; — *Pliny*, Historia Naturalis, VII, 56; — *Livy*, Ab Urbe Condita, XXI, 62; *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI. 14. — *Lönnrot*, Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsurunoja, pp. 153 sq., 234 sq., 268; — *Grottenfelt*, Ueber die Kurden; in Muinaism. yhd. Aik., vol. XXVI, p. 8.

In addition see also *Stannus*, Notes on some Tribes in British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute 1910, p. 300, and *Conybeare*, Ancestor-Worship; in Encycl. Britannica, vol. I, p. 945.

² Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche write of the Omaha: — »The warrior was taught that it was this god (Thunder), not man, who decreed the death on the field of battle . . . This teaching tended to change in the Omaha mind the character of warfare; it placed the warrior under a supernatural power, over which he had no control, and while it did not eliminate from him the spirit of revenge or hatred, it curtailed a man's estimate of his own ability to exploit vengeance on his fellows». — The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept, Bur. Ethnol. p. 403.

³ *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 142 sqq. — Cf. *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Island; in Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1898, p. 12; — *Gudgeon*, The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 35; — *Swanton*, The Tlingit Indians; in 16:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 450; — *Thevet*, Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, p. 65; — *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136. — *Cicero*, De Divinatione, I., 2, 55 sq., II, 21 passim; — *Idem*, De Nat. Deor, II, 65, 162; — *Idem*, De Legibus, II, 13, 32; — *Livy*, Ab Urbe Condita, XXI, 62; XXII, 1.

⁴ *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 169 sq; — Cf. *Smith*, The Doings of Te Wera; in Journ. Polyn. Soc, vol. IX, p. 57 sq.; — *Hecquard*, Op. cit. p. 100.

function itself.¹ Moreover, when brave men were recompensed by their leaders or communities, what was more natural than to expect that they would be rewarded still more in the life to come? Among the Fijians, cowardice and idleness were »the most heinous crimes; a life of rapine and a violent death were passports to the sacred mountain». ² Similarly Erskine affirms that in Fiji those whose conduct had been pleasing to the gods enjoyed a greater degree of happiness after death than in this world. The slaughter of many enemies was considered »most likely to propitiate the deity». ³ And of the Tongans we read that at the eve of battle the chief declared it »far better to die in war than live to be assassinated at home or to die of a lingering disease». ⁴ The Ojibway Indians believed that the souls of brave warriors »spend an eternity in carnal pleasures such as feasting, dancing and the like; but the soul of the coward . . . will wander about in unknown regions of darkness and be exposed to the continued rage of wolves, bears, panthers, etc». ⁵ According to the belief of the Aht Indians, chiefs and those who lost their lives in battle would be happy in the life to come. ⁶ The Aztecs held that the shades of those »who died in their beds went downward and to nought», whereas the braves who were killed in battle were rewarded with an eternal life in the regions of happiness. ⁷ The Kukies believe that in the life after death

¹ *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 170; — Cf. *Jevons*, Introduction to the History of Religion, pp. 155 n, 242, 295.

The additions to my own inquiry refer to such authors only who have not been quoted in that study, or who are not quoted elsewhere in the present book.

² *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 132 sqq.; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 401. — As for Niue, see *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 94

³ *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 248.

⁴ *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 94.

⁵ *Jones*, The Ojibway Indians, p. 102.

⁶ *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 209 sq.

⁷ *Brinton*, The Myths of the New World, p. 245 sq.; — *Clavigero*, The History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 242; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 365 sq.; vol. II, p. 582 sq.

the victims of a bold warrior will be his slaves.¹ Speaking of the inhabitants of the province of Parthia, the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus states that he who was slain in the battle was »accounted the happiest of men», while those who died a natural death were reproached as degenerate and cowardly.² Similarly of a nation called by him Alani, and living in those times on the shores of the Sea of Azov, the same author remarks that they esteemed death in war more than anything else.³ This was the view of the early Germans also.⁴

The rousing value of such a religious conviction will fully be understood when compared with the fact that among certain other people the fate of warriors killed in battle was thought to be just the opposite. Speaking of the Indians in general, Mooney states that the Indians of North America never made an attack in the night-time, this custom arising from the belief common among them that an Indian killed at night would be for ever in darkness in the spirit world.⁵ As for the particular tribes, among the Iroquois, separate villages were allotted to the souls of those who had died in war, because the other dead were supposed to be afraid of their presence.⁶ So also the Hurons thought that the future life of warriors killed in battle would be less happy than that of ordinary people.⁷ The Saponi Indians considered the highest form of a happy future after death to be a life in which men were »preserved from being surprised or overcome by their enemies». ⁸ Among the Flatheads and neighbouring Indian communities the belief prevailed that a good man went, after his death, to a country in which there was perpetual sum-

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 46. — As for the aborigines of Celebes, see *Sarasin*, *Celebes*, vol. II. p. 69.

² *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *History of*, XXIII, 6.

³ *Op. cit.* XXXI, 2.

⁴ *Jähns*, *Krieg, Frieden und Kultur*, p. 141

⁵ *Mooney*, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 32.

⁶ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 694.

⁷ *Tylor*, *Primitive Culture*, (Ed. 1894), vol. II, p. 87.

⁸ *Mooney*, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 48.

mer and where he spent his time in hunting and fishing »free from the terrors of war». ¹ More or less similar views have been held by other savages also. ² As there is thus to be found a difference in the views of savages with regard to the future life of warriors killed in battle, it follows that warriors who were firmly convinced of a happy life after death felt their bravery greatly increased.

On the other hand, if superstition has thus encouraged martiality, it certainly has also given to savages particular means of fulfilling their inmost desires without bloodshed. Not every injury received has directly provoked bloodshed or warfare. The beginning of hostilities has often depended on favourable prognostications, ³ and in many other instances the carrying on of hostilities may be confined to purely superstitious actions only ⁴; to the instances here referred to may be added the fact that the Maori, one of the most warlike peoples known, had among others the following way of carrying out blood-revenge. A canoe was built and brought to the shores of that tribe to which the guilty party belonged, and here the canoe was canted over towards the land. »That is all. The defeat is avenged. The warriors return». ⁵ In short, we could hardly meet with such traits in savage life if the bestial instincts of man in general

¹ *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. I, pp. 252 sq., 316; — *Franchère*, Voyage to N. W. Coast of America, p. 258 sq; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 317.

² *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 649; — *Boas*, Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 589; — *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 233; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 162; — *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 207; — and above all, *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 373; vol. II, pp. 521 sq., 693 sq., 697, 704 sq., 708 sq.

³ *Holsti*, Op. cit. p. 142 sqq.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 151 sqq.

⁵ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 74.

had been incomparably stronger than his belief in superstition.¹

To sum up, the facts which we have brought forward have made it clear that savages, instead of having really warlike qualities born in them, have on the contrary often had to stir these up through scorn, through the appeals of kinsmen, through exhortations, through the fear of punishments, through promises of rewards, and through superstitious beliefs or other considerations, as of unavoidable duties vested in them, and finally through careful preparations and special customs in connection with the opening as well as the carrying on of hostilities. Moreover, primitive man, relying upon his superstition, has often avenged injuries in a non-warlike way.

Besides the restrictions on the waging of war, as well as the great efforts made to excite savage warriors to deeds of heroism, there are other instances to prove that war is far from being incessant among primitive peoples. In Australia, though the aborigines are said never to refrain from killing an entire stranger on any possible occasion, it is a custom that tribes which, without belonging to the same nation, are neighbours, should terminate their occasional fighting with peace-making. This course of action is still more usual between tribes of the same nation.² Describing the art of war among the Maori, Mr. Best observes that »peace and peace-making is by no means a modern institution with the Maori.« Moreover they knew two different degrees of peace: the first, which could be broken, was confirmed by marriage between persons of rank; the second was made for ever.³ The conclusion of treaties of peace has also been observed by certain authors in the case of the aborigines of New

¹ As they have a special bearance upon savage tactics, these traits will be more closely illustrated in the following volume.

² *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, pp. 71, 146 sq., 155, passim.

³ *Best*, *Notes on the Art of War*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XII., p. 197 sq.; cf. p. 201. — See also *Pakeha Maori*, *Old New Zealand*, p. 48 sq.

Guinea,¹ Fiji,² Tahiti,³ and Tonga.⁴ In Hawaii, when one party wished for peace, an ambassador was sent to the enemy with proposals, and if these were accepted the chiefs and priests of the belligerent parties met and the conditions of peace were agreed to. Subsequently the peace-makers went to a temple, a pig was killed and the blood poured on the ground, »to signify», it is said, »that thus it should be done to those who broke the treaty». When thus the peace was ratified, feasting, dances and public games followed. The warriors returned to their lands and »the king's heralds were sent round his district to announce 'ua pau ka kaua', — 'ended is the war'.⁵ Of the art of warfare among the aborigines in Celebes in 1680, Padt-Brugge writes that after long feuds influential people in neutral villages used at last to bring about peace; long speeches were made and the peace was confirmed by oaths.⁶ Similarly, among the head-hunters of Borneo⁷ we meet with peace-making. Kukies, when ceasing from hostilities, swear to maintain peace in the following words: — »May I be cut with the *dhao* (a weapon) in war and in the field, may rice and salt fail me, my crops wither, and I die of hunger; may fire burn all my worldly possessions and the tiger devour me, if I am not faithful». ⁸ In another description of the same people we read that if two tribes fighting see the victory uncertain between them, they make a signal to suspend the combat, send out ambassadors, and conclude a peace with a grand feast, »taking sun and moon to witness the

¹ *Krieger*, New Guinea, pp. 324, 418; — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 183.

² *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 54; — *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 89.

³ *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. I, p. 318.

⁴ *Mariner*, The Natives of Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 234.

⁵ *Ellis*, Hawaii, p. 131.

⁶ *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I., p. 43.

⁷ *Furness*, The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 112 sq.

⁸ *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, vol. XXIV., p. 641.

sincerity of their peace-making». ¹ Among the Garos in Bengal the belligerent tribes are brought together by a third party, and if the negotiations are successful, the parties swear to maintain peace by biting their swords. Moreover, as a sign that »friendly relations are restored» the representatives of both clans must put food into each other's mouths, which seals the compact. ² Among the tribes in Assam belonging to the Tibeto-Burman groups of aborigines, when two hostile villages are about to swear an oath of perpetual peace they place a cat — which is among them almost a sacred animal — in a basket, and the headmen of the belligerent communities hack the cat to pieces. »Both take care to make the first cut at the same moment, for the efficacy of the oath depends on the guilt of the slaughter of the cat being shared equally until one or other commits a breach of the oath, when the whole of the guilt attaches itself to the offender» ³. So also the aborigines of the Neilgherry Hills, ⁴ when concluding peace, confirm it with sacrifices.

Turning to the natives of Africa, we meet with similar customs. According to Speke, ⁵ the Unyamwesi suspend hostilities by means of treaties. Similarly the aborigines inhabiting the territory of the Uganda Protectorate, ⁶ when desiring to make peace, kill a sheep, and the representatives of each side exchange pieces of the flesh. When the Masai ⁷ wish for peace they send arbitrators, together with a woman and an unweaned child, to meet the representatives of their enemies. The women then exchange the children for a moment, and let them suck. The peace-makers themselves eat a piece of the heart of a slaughtered animal, and finally they pray that he who breaks the peace may

¹ *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 111.

² *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 62.

³ *Hodson*, The »Genna»; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 99.

⁴ *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 106.

⁵ *Speke*, Discovery of the Source of the Nile, p. 100.

⁶ *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 794.

⁷ *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 101.

be punished by heaven. Of the Boran, Sakuju, Gubbra, Ajuran and Gurreh, we read that these five tribes »are bound together by treaties of friendship». ¹ Likewise the Kavirondo and the neighbouring groups ² confirm their treaties by cutting a dog, in order to point out the fate of a treacherous party, or by performing other ceremonies of a similar nature. The Kafirs ³ and Basutos ⁴ confirm the cessation of warfare with actual peace-making. Among the Ba-Mbala ⁵ negroes, when a powerful chief invites the chiefs of the other communities in his neighbourhood to make a pact against bloodshed, a slave is killed, and the partaking of his flesh is considered to be a pledge henceforward to prevent murder. Similarly among the Ba-Yaka ⁶ tribes the chiefs of the belligerent parties meet, a fowl is killed and subsequently buried. It is then believed as a matter of course that he who breaks the peace will soon die. Of the Cross River negroes, Mr. Partridge ⁷ tells us that the tribes avoid bloodshed by means of negotiations, and that the treaties concluded are confirmed with solemn oaths. Many of the American Indians, among others the Ojibway, ⁸ Iroquois, ⁹ Kansas, Kickapoo Osage, ¹⁰ Omaha, ¹¹ Kiowa, Comanche, ¹² Haidah, ¹³ Nootka, ¹⁴

¹ *Aylmer*, The Country between the Juba River and Lake Rudolf; in *Geographical Journal*, 1911, vol. XXXVIII, p. 295.

² *Hobley*, Kavirondo; in *Geographical Journal*, 1898, vol. XII, p. 368.

³ *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 278.

⁴ *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 224.

⁵ *Torday and Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in *Journ. Anthrop. Institute*, 1905, p. 409.

⁶ *Torday and Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in *Journ. Anthrop. Institute*, 1906, p. 49.

⁷ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 190 sq.

⁸ *Jones*, The Ojibway Indians, p. 113.

⁹ *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 336 sq.

¹⁰ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 326 sq.

¹¹ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 332, 362, 368; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. pp. 73, 79, 87, 209, 496, passim.

¹² *Mooney*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 164.

¹³ *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I., p. 164.

¹⁴ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I. p. 189.

Nahuas,¹ and Hako² Indians, as well as the ancient Mexicans,³ have been in the habit of making peace treaties; and they have also been faithful to these agreements. Speaking of a treaty concluded by the Kiowa and the Comanche, Mr. Mooney remarks:—»The peace thus made between the two tribes has never been broken, in which fact there may be a sermon for those who regard the Indian as faithless, when we consider how few European alliances have endured as long».⁴ Conspicuous in this respect is also the sanctity of the treaties concluded by such exceedingly warlike tribes as those belonging to the League of the Iroquois.⁵

Peace-making evidently presupposes the recognition of the inviolability of the representatives of the belligerents as well as of the third mediatorial party where this is required. This has been shown already in some of the examples above; further testimony to the same effect abounds. Thus, ambassadors are held sacred among the Australian aborigines.⁶ Priests acted in Tonga⁷ as peace-makers and were in this capacity sacred personages. In Tahiti⁸ and Fiji⁹ women used to be chosen as mediators. This is the case also among the Kafirs¹⁰ and the Basutos.¹¹ Likewise among the Nahuas,¹² the Kansas,

¹ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 426.

² *Fletcher*, *The Hako*; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 279.

³ *Clavigero*, *History of Mexico*, vol. I, p. 370; vol. II, p. 412.

⁴ *Mooney*, *Op. cit.* p. 164.

⁵ *Morgan*, *Op. cit.* p. 336 sq.

⁶ *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, pp. 95, 109 sq.

⁷ *Mariner*, *The Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. I, p. 234.

⁸ *Ellis*, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. I, p. 318; vol. II, p. 512.

⁹ *Williams and Calvert*, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. I, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Lichtenstein*, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. I, p. 278.

¹¹ *Casalis*, *The Basutos*, p. 224.

¹² *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 426.

Kickapoo, Osage,¹ Ponka, Omaha,² Haidah³ and Nootka⁴ Indians, the ancient Mexicans⁵ as well as among the early Romans,⁶ Gauls⁷ and Germans⁸ ambassadors were held sacred.

This custom, however, was not limited merely to negotiators of peace; on the contrary, it applied to messengers of every kind. Thus Wheeler⁹ gives illuminating particulars on this point with reference to the Australian aborigines. The Sue¹⁰ Islanders and the aborigines of New Guinea¹¹ bear leaves in their hands to signify their friendly feelings when approaching strangers. Similarly we read as regards the Masai that grass — which was the most sacred thing among them — »held in the hand or tied in a sprig to the dress is a sign of welcome and peace». ¹² And this is the custom among the Wambugwe¹³ tribes also. Among the North-American Indians the calumet was sacred; hence it was of old »a Pass and Safe Conduct amongst all the Allies of the Nation who has given it». ¹⁴ Nay more, whoever was carrying such a thing was welcomed and even respected

¹ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 326 sq.

² *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. p. 368.; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 87.

³ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 164.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 189.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 412.

⁶ E. g. *Plutarch*, Camillus, 17; — *Meyer*, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. I, p. 71.

⁷ *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, III, 9.

⁸ Op. cit. IV. 7, 11, passim.

⁹ *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 109 sqq., passim.

¹⁰ *McGillivray*, The Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 41.

¹¹ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 324, 418; — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 174.

¹² *Thomson*, Through Masai Land, p. 260. See also *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 165.

¹³ *Baumann*, Op. cit. p. 188.

¹⁴ *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 75.

by the enemy.¹ Other messengers were similarly respected.²

Moreover, strangers may be kindly treated even though they be no heralds nor carry any special tokens to indicate their friendly feelings. As Westermarck³ has shown to a considerable extent, hospitality towards strangers is a universally recognized duty at the lower stages of civilization, and is the more remarkable as it is often extended so as to include even mortal enemies.⁴ Sometimes it passes into intimate friendship⁵ or actual adoption.⁶

In close relation to these customs are visits paid by whole parties. Similarly we find meetings taking place between different social units in order to consult about policy and to conclude alliances, or to perform religious or other ceremonies. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, after they have mentioned the kindly disposition which natives of Central Australia show to each other

¹ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 368. — See for further particulars, *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of America, p. 358 sq.; — *Fletcher*, The Hako; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 279; — *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes p. 326 sq.

² *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 381.

³ *Westermarck*, Moral Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXIV.

With reference to the early Germans, Tacitus states: — »Hospitality and convivial pleasures are nowhere so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity» — *Germania*, 21.

In Greece, Xenia, or Proxenia was, as described by Mr. Risley, »an institution which developed out of the sanctity of private hospitality. Where it existed persons called proxeni were appointed in each State as the recognized agents of the State for which they acted. Sometimes a State sent out one of its citizens as proxenus to reside in the other State; sometimes it selected one of the citizens of the latter; and in some cases the office became hereditary in a particular family . . . The institution of Xenia affords a curiously exact prototype of the consular system of modern International Law». — *Risley*, Law of War, p. 13.

⁴ *Westermarck*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 576 sq.

⁵ *Schligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 68; — *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. LIV, p. 370 sq.; — *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. I, p. 248 sq.

⁶ See *infra*, p. 116.

within the limits of their own tribe, remark: — »Where two tribes come into contact with one another on the border land of their respective territories, there the same amicable feelings are maintained between the members of the two. There is no such thing as one tribe being in a constant state of enmity with another». ¹ In their book on the Northern Tribes of Central Australia, the same authors add that nothing could be further from the truth than the ordinary accounts in popular works according to which various tribes are in a state of constant hostility; »in almost every camp of any size you will find members of strange tribes paying visits and often taking part in ceremonies». ² With reference to the Tasmanians, Wheeler ³ observes that, owing to the occurrence of similar customs, their intertribal relations could not be those of indiscriminate hostility. ⁴ The Cross River natives ⁵ arrange meetings in order to discuss intertribal policy, and the subsequent treaties are confirmed with most binding oaths. Similarly among the Ba-Yaka ⁶ and Ba-Mbala ⁷ negroes we meet with alliances or other forms of treaties contracted between neighbouring chiefs. Clavigero ⁸ in describing the external policy of the Mexican rulers points out that they made use of discussion with their adver-

¹ *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32; cf. p. 50 sq.; — *Idem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 232 sq.

² *Spencer and Gillen*, The Northern Tribes, p. 31; — *Idem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 200 sq.; — cf. also *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. I, p. 63; — *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 241 sq.

³ *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 79.

⁴ As for the Papuans in New Guinea, see *Rawling*, Op. cit. p. 146, 157 sqq.

⁵ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 190 sq.

⁶ *Torday and Joyce*, Ethnography of Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 49.

⁷ *Torday and Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 409. — See also *Torday*, Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, p. 136.

⁸ *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 370.

saries, and that accommodations were likely soon to take place between the parties.

As for intertribal festivities, the Dieri tribe in Australia arranged festivals to invoke peace, the so called *mindarie*, by means of which they maintained peaceful relations with their neighbours.¹ According to Mr. Williamson, the various communities of the Mafulu in New Guinea act together in many matters. This is especially the case as regards the so-called big feasts and some other important ceremonies, as well as hunting and fishing.² Among the Barea and Kunama in East Africa the feast of the first-fruits »is a day of peace when all fighting rests.»³ Among the Jalua tribes in Uganda, if a big chief dies all the surrounding peoples join in the funeral rites even if he happened to be at war with some of them; and on the same occasion hostilities between different clans are suspended.⁴ Mr. McClintock⁵ describes a great festival in which two thousand representatives of fourteen different groups of North American Indians took part. »I have never seen», he says, »an equally large gathering of white men where there was as little disturbance. Although I was continually present, I saw no fighting in the great encampment, and it was a rare occurrence to hear even angry words». As for the Omaha, they availed themselves of a special ceremony, *Wa'wa*ⁿ, »to bring about friendly relations »between themselves and the neighbouring tribes, with all its peaceful obligations»,⁶ and similar customs prevailed amongst the Ponka;⁷ indeed, peaceful intercourse

¹ *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 271. — Cf. *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 98 sq.

² *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, pp. 84, 132 sq., 250, 255 sq.

³ *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 473.

⁴ *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 794.

⁵ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 206.

⁶ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 376 sq.; cf. p. 495 sq.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 379 sq.

was not by any means unfamiliar to the Indians of North America,¹ though they are the example which all those authors who defend war so readily quote.

We thus see that savages are by no means devoid of what may be called primitive forms of International Law. Certain rules as regards the opening of hostilities, the conducting of war, and the making of peace are in many cases observed, and amicable relations between different tribes are by no means infrequent. In fact, if the intertribal relations of the other savage groups were to be as carefully investigated as those of the Australian aborigines,² we should probably find that there are more or less equally regulated relations between savage communities in other parts of the world also.

If we bear in mind the various inferences above made with regard to the true nature of savage warfare, we can understand how so many peaceably disposed savage groups have been able to survive.³ If warfare was among all the savages as incessant, and the destruction of unwarlike units as unavoidable, as is assumed by certain authors, then as a matter of course we could hardly find statements such as those which follow. Frazer⁴ does not reckon the Australian aborigines among the warlike races of mankind. The Moriori were a peaceable people.⁵ The inhabitants of Totelau Island as described by Turner⁶ »were

1) *Op. cit.* pp. 79, 81, *passim*.

2) *Wheeler*, *Op. cit.*

3) Without giving any explanation why so many peaceful peoples have been able to survive, Gumpłowicz writes: — »Die Völkerkunde bietet uns unzählige Beispiele solcher 'friedlichen' Völker; sie bleiben auf der Stufe der Affen; sie kennen keinen Krieg, keine Führung, keinen Befehl, keinen Zusammenstoß mit Fremden, sie 'beuten nicht aus' und werden nicht 'ausgebeutet', . . . sie sind die vollkommensten Affen.» — Die soziologische Staatsidee, p. 126.

⁴ *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, p. 284.

⁵ *Mair*, *The Early History of Morioris*; in *Trans. New Zealand Institute*, vol. XXXVII, p. 159.

⁶ *Turner*, *Samoa*, p. 268.

a quiet people and rarely fought». This holds good also of the aborigines of Humphrey Island,¹ and the same author adds that in Ellice Island »wars were rare». ² To the Arafuras ³ and to the Toala in Celebes ⁴ are ascribed no warlike qualities whatever. According to Mr. Furness ⁵ the head-hunters of Borneo were in themselves amicable and peaceably disposed. As regards the nomadic Punans, it is said that »of all the tribes they are perhaps the most mild and gentle; they are not head-hunters, and care no more for a collection of human heads than for that of any other animal, and therefore never go on a raid». ⁶ In speaking of the Malays in general Ratzel ⁷ observes that not all of them are warlike; on the contrary, some of them undoubtedly are mild, peaceable, quiet and polite; to those over them submissive and seldom inclined to commit offences. In Paggi or Pageh Island, off Sumatra, where there is no government, but every man protects himself, the people nevertheless »live on peaceable and friendly terms with each other; quarrels are rare, and murder almost unknown». ⁸ The Tamils, Singalese, and Moors of Ceylon are »all unwarlike races» ⁹ and so are the Veddas likewise. ¹⁰ The Tenae are peaceably disposed, though they occasionally have to take up arms to punish marauders. ¹¹ The Bodo and Dhimal ¹² are peaceful agriculturists,

¹ *Turner*, Op. cit. p. 278.

² Op. cit. p. 282.

³ *Kolff*, Voyage of »Dourga», p. 161.

⁴ *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 277.

⁵ *Furness*, Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 58, passim.

⁶ *Furness*, Op. cit. p. 175.

⁷ *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 364.

⁸ *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. II, p. 214.

⁹ *Meaden*, A Brief Sketch of the Island of Ceylon; in Journal United Service Institution, vol. X, 1866, pp. 552, 554.

¹⁰ *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 34, 62, passim.

¹¹ *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 35.

¹² *Hodgson*, The Kooch, Bodo and Dhimal People; in Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, N. S. vol. XVIII, part II, pp. 714 sq., 744.

while the Mishmis,¹ another peaceable race, are occupied with barter. As to the Lepchas, Hooker makes the following remarks: — »That six or seven different tribes, without any feudal system or coercive head, with different languages and customs, should dwell in close proximity and in peace within the confined territory of Sikkim, even for a limited period, is an anomaly . . . Wars have been waged amongst them, but they were neither sanguinary nor destructive, and the fact remains no less remarkable, that at the period of our occupying Dorjiling, friendship and unanimity existed amongst all those tribes; from the Tibetan at 14000 feet to the Meche of the plains; under a sovereign whose temporal power was wholly unsupported by even the semblance of arms, and whose spiritual supremacy was acknowledged by very few». ² According to Ratzel,³ the Ladaki are a peaceful, hardworking people among whom murder, stealing or violence are almost unknown and the Batti are merry and good-natured. All the tribes in Selangor Pahang and other parts of Negri Sembilan as well as in Sungei Ujong »possess no idea of warfare or racial strife and freely admit their preference for a life of seclusion and peace». ⁴ The peaceful character of the Tōdas has been remarked on by various authors ⁵.

According to Munzinger,⁶ among the natives in North-Eastern Africa most of the agricultural tribes are peaceable. Thus *e. g.* among the Barea we do not find enmity and deeds of blood between families, or between tribes, though they are common enough in North Abyssinia. ⁷ Among the Bantu

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 13, 15.

² Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, vol. I, p. 141.

³ Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. II. p. 528.

⁴ Knocker, *The Aborigines of Sungei Ujong*; in *Journ. Anthrop. Institute*, 1907, p. 293.

⁵ *E. g.* Harkness, *The Neilgherry Hills*, p. 16 sq.

⁶ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 76, 512 sq., 532 sq.

⁷ Munzinger, *Op. cit.* p. 498.

races the Bakonjo »are not a warlike people». ¹ The Karamojo »are industrious agriculturists and are peaceful people with love of commerce». ² This holds good also with reference to the Western Sük, ³ the Wafipa, ⁴ and the Tonga, ⁵ all of whom are painstaking agriculturists. In West Africa, the Ovambo, says Ratzel, are not only the leading agricultural people one meets with when one comes from the south; but they are moreover one of the most industrious and most peaceful among African agricultural peoples. Similarly, speaking of the tribes belonging to the Nago group, Ratzel informs us that they are extremely industrious, and have mild manners. In many descriptions they come before us as a pattern people. ⁶ Of the Ewe-speaking Krepí the same author ⁷ says that they are peaceably disposed and industrious. This is also, according to Mr. Partridge, ⁸ the case with the Aros Negroes.

The early Tolteks ⁹ were not warlike. Brinton ¹⁰ likewise ascribes peaceable qualities to the Maya people; they seem to have been »an ancient race of mild manners». ¹¹ The Conquistadores, says Mr. Davis, ¹² found the Pueblo Indians, »numerous and powerful, living peaceful and happy lives in their villages». Ross Brown ¹³ observes that the Pimos have always manifested a friendly disposition towards the Whites and seem much de-

¹ *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 579.

² *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 841.

³ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 848.

⁴ *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 195.

⁵ *Ratzel*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 180.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 359.

⁷ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 360.

⁸ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 52.

⁹ *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, pp. 86, 88.

¹⁰ *Brinton*, Hero-Myths, pp. 35, 145.

¹¹ *Brinton*, Op. cit. p. 30 sq.

¹² *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 132.

¹³ *Ross Brown*, Adventures in the Apache Country, p. 132; — *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 145; — *Fremont and Emory*, Notes of Travel in California, p. 47.

voted to the peaceful pursuit of agriculture and stock-raising. This holds good also of the Papagoes¹ and the Soones.² The Najabos »have ever been known as a pastoral and peaceful race of men». ³ According to Mr. Gatschet⁴ the seven tribes of the Kalapuya Indians were not warlike and are not known to have participated in any war expeditions. Many observers ascribe mild and peaceable qualities also to the Flatheads⁵ and some other neighbouring races. ⁶ »Even the children are more peaceable than other children, and though hundreds of them may be seen together at play, there is no quarrelling among them.»⁷ Similarly the Shoshoni, says Hoffmann, have always been peaceable,⁸ and so are the Fox Islanders.⁹ The Tacullies are a »quiet inoffensive people». ¹⁰ Speaking of the Cree Indians, Mr. Ross observes that of all the Indians they once were the most numerous and powerful, being superior in individual intelligence and distinguished alike for sagacity and for mildness of disposition. ¹¹ Likewise the Salteaux, a part of the Ojibway nation, »although numerous are not a warlike tribe». ¹² Peaceably disposed are the Choktaws and Chickasaws also. ¹³ — »The

¹ *Ross Browne*, Op. cit. pp. 140, 252, 277, 279, 288.

² *Fremont and Emory*, Op. cit. p. 56.

³ *Davis*, Op. cit. p. 411.

⁴ *Gatschet*, Ethnographic Notes concerning the North American Aborigines, p. 212.

⁵ *McKenney and Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. II, p. 153; — *Scouler*, Indian Tribes Inhabiting N.-W. Coast of North America; in Journ. Ethnol. Soc. London, vol. I, p. 247; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 311.

⁶ *Dunn*, Op. cit. pp. 93, 250, 314; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 268.

⁷ *Dunn*, Op. cit. p. 315.

⁸ *Hoffmann*, Die Shoshoni; in Globus, 1896, vol. LXIX, p. 58.

⁹ *Coxe*, The Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, p. 198.

¹⁰ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 137.

¹¹ *Ross*, Fur Hunters, vol. II, p. 221.

¹² *Kane*, Wanderings, p. 82.

¹³ *Adair*, Geschichte der amerikanischen Indianer, pp. 287—302; quoted by *Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 55.

typical South American Indian is», Professor Orton¹ affirms, »by nature more peaceable and submissive than his Northern brother». Thus for example the Manties are an agricultural tribe, »of mild disposition»;² and the Uaupes are likewise an agricultural people »peaceable and ingenious». ³ The non-warlike character of the Eskimo in general has been borne witness to by many authors. ⁴

These qualities are not limited merely to peoples devoid of a higher civilization. In his history of the Chinese Empire Mr. Douglas writes of this people:—»They have none of the characteristics of a warlike race, and their triumphs over less cultivated peoples have been gained rather by peaceful advance than by force of arms». ⁵ Similarly Ratzel remarks that the Tibetan, Burman and Siamese peoples, who have kept their place in these lands up till the present time, have never been able to put a stop to the growth and final predominance of the Chinese element, which shows itself as a true culture-element in the struggle. Roads, bridges, schools, and trading are its arms, and it avoids the battlefield as far as possible only to win the day through patience and canny dealing. ⁶ Remarkable is likewise the statement made by Sir Henry Maine with reference to India:—»It may be proper to remember that, though no country was so perpetually scourged with war as India before the establishment of the Pax Britannica, the people of India were never a military people». ⁷ The Slavs were originally much more peaceable than the Germans, as Dr. Wilser⁸ justly points out. With regard to the Finnish races, Dr. Ailio supposes that the Finns

¹ Orton, *The Andes and the Amazon*, p. 469.

² Orton, *Op. cit.* p. 318.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 319. — As for the Chunchos in Peru see *Moss*, *A Trip into the Interior of Peru*, p. 17.

⁴ *E. g. Rink*, *The Eskimo Tribes*, p. 26; — *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 86.

⁵ *Douglas*, *China*, p. 2.

⁶ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. II, p. 642.

⁷ *Maine*, *Village Communities*, p. 124.

⁸ *Wilser*, *Die Germanen*, pp. 117, 123.

were in remote times comparatively peaceful ¹ and similarly Dr. Appelgren-Kivalo ² believes that they gradually spread over the country by peaceful occupation and not through warlike conquest. Nor do their institutions directly indicate an early predominance of warlike efforts. ³ When we turn from the Finns proper to the primitive Esthonians, they were, Dr. Weinberg ⁴ assumes, previous to their later great struggles, probably in the main peaceful settlers.

Finally it must be borne in mind that even the peaceful savage communities have a mighty weapon in magic, which often renders them more formidable than if they were dependent solely on military power. Thus the political supremacy of the peaceable Todas over their numerous neighbours is maintained by magical fear only. ⁵ The Kukatas are universally feared and abominated apparently more on account of their »reputed skill in witchcraft and various other dangerous tricks than for their warlike qualities». ⁶ Hence peaceful tribes need not as a matter of course be doomed to disappear in the struggle for existence. On the contrary, whatever may be the reasons for the continued existence of such tribes in all parts of the world — whether it be the result of regulated and at least partially amicable intertribal relations or of the beneficial influence of magical fear, or of some other causes — the fact remains that

¹ *Ailio*, Elämästä Suomessa n. 4000 v. sitten; in *Kansanval. Seuran Kal.*, 1911, p. 152.

² *Appelgren-Kivalo*, Katsaus Suomen muinaisuuteen; in *Oma Maa*, vol. V, p. 149.

³ *Koskinen*, Suomen kansan historia, p. 21 sq.: — *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, passim.

⁴ *Weinberg*, Die anthropologische Stellung der Esten; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 388.

⁵ *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 18.

⁶ *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 249.

the very existence of such unwarlike tribes and nations is in itself a striking testimony to the error made by the many writers who lay exaggerated stress upon the warlike character of primitive conditions.

Inasmuch as these statements have been able to throw some light upon the true nature of savage warfare, it is necessary to explain why certain authors maintain an opposite view and depict the relations between different savage communities in the darkest colours. Their opinion is undoubtedly due partly to a deficient classification of the modes of primitive warfare in general, partly to their omission to pay proper attention to the part played by superstition in savage warfare, and partly also to the exaggerated importance they have assigned to many accounts of early warfare.

With regard to the first of these points, reference need only be made to the classification of primitive warfare given above in the preceding chapter. It was there pointed out that considerable difference exists between the various modes of savage warfare. When therefore certain authors use statements concerning primitive warfare without properly classifying them it follows that actual wars carried on by comparatively advanced savages in order to procure slaves, victims for sacrifices, or cattle, or to make conquests or to exterminate the enemy, are put side by side with small open combats fought between savages of the lowest type, while these statements again are mixed up with instances of indiscriminate slaughter after sudden attacks. When to this is added the tendency more or less systematically to overlook facts which imply mitigation of the cruel and destructive character of primitive warfare, as well as the prevalence of other important rules bearing on the relation between savage communities, it becomes still clearer that such a treatment of the subject cannot throw any true light either on the relations between savage communities in general, or on the character of savage warfare in particular.

These remarks hold good with reference to many authors. In Spencer's »Principles of Sociology», comparatively few statements in the large collection of facts illustrating different branches of savage life refer to regulated intertribal relations, peace-making, etc. Similarly there is reason to believe that the picture of savage wars presented by Vaccaro is equally one-sided. Although he admits ¹ that man lived »jusqu'à un certain point en paix» during the early ages when he still was devoid of weapons, all the other characteristics which Vaccaro attributes to savage warfare refer only to wars of extermination, conquest and slave-making, or anthropophagy. ² Letourneau, ³ it is true, distinguishes wars carried on by low savage units from those waged by semi-barbarians. But when he describes the character of the wars belonging to the former class, with the exception of those of the Australian aborigines, ⁴ he fails to see any real difference, e. g. between open combat, to which the enemy has been duly challenged, and indiscriminate slaughter after successful attacks upon unsuspecting villages. Moreover, he takes hardly any notice of customs that imply the existence of at least some regulated intertribal relations among the lower as well as among more advanced savages. ⁵

Dr. Steinmetz, in »Die Philosophie des Krieges», has passed over all such features of savage life as indicate the prevalence of regulated relations between different communities, and other facts which might lead an unbiassed investigator to conclude that warfare among savages is not quite so incessant and sanguinary as is often assumed. He sums up the results of his inquiry into the character of savage warfare in the following words: — We have been able definitely to discover, that savages probably after the very earliest stage were blood-thirsty and

¹ *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 81.

² *Vaccaro*, Op. cit. p. 90 sq., passim.

³ *Letourneau*, La guerre, p. 530 sq.

⁴ *Letourneau*, Op. cit. passim.

⁵ Op. cit. preface.

waged their wars in the cruellest way and with an immense loss of life. ¹ In a previous work, »Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe«, however, the same author makes statements of a very different character. He there refers to fifty instances in which savage groups are stated to be revengeful and blood-thirsty, and to twenty other peoples among whom injuries received are not always avenged but are soon forgotten. He then continues: — We have been able to collect 20 other cases where certainly no long-lasting, intense search for revenge was to be seen; these when compared with the 50 opposite cases make up no mean minority, which has all the more weight in that the tendency of the observers probably was for the most part to assume the pitiless seeking of revenge as a natural feature in the savage character; and this must have prevented their finding and duly valuing phenomena pointing in an opposite direction. ²

It need hardly be added that it is only in this latter instance that Dr. Steinmetz is in close touch with the facts, whereas his line of argument in »Die Philosophie des Krieges« has nothing to do with the inductive method.

In full conformity with the whole tendency of their *a priori* reasoning Gumpłowicz and Ratzenhofer devote their attention so exclusively to the warlike side of savage life that in their investigations no room is left for facts of an opposite character

¹ »Wir haben konstatieren können, dass die Wilden, wahrscheinlich nach der allerersten Stufe, blutdürstig waren und ihre Kriege in der grausamsten Weise mit ungeheueren Verlusten an Menschen führten«. — Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 57.

² »Wir konnten doch noch 20 Fälle sammeln, wo wenigstens keine lang-anhaltende, intensive Rachsucht bestand, was mit den 50 entgegengesetzten Fällen verglichen immerhin eine sehr beträchtliche Minderheit ausmacht, welche um so mehr ins Gewicht fallen dürfte, als die Tendenz der Beobachter wohl meistens dahin ging, grausame Rachsucht als natürliche Eigenschaft der Wilden anzunehmen, was sie natürlich hindern musste auf das Entgegengesetzte hindeutende Erscheinungen zu entdecken und würdigen«. — Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 310.

relating to intertribal relations. Ratzel makes a right classification of savage wars, but his examples are wrong. Thus to illustrate warfare between savage groups he cites *e. g.* the case of the Fijians as observed by Williams in the middle of last century. Accordingly he argues that this form of savage warfare is more or less incessant and aims at exterminating the enemy.¹ As we shall soon see, this example is entirely misleading. Warfare in Fiji increased largely after the arrival of the Whites, when the aborigines got an opportunity to procure firearms. It is not surprising that an author who bases his theory on such a foundation exaggerates the hostile relation between primitive groups and the deadly character of their fighting.²

As for the second cause above-mentioned, none of these authors have paid any attention to the great part played by superstitious customs and beliefs in primitive warfare.

¹ Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 126.

² Ferrero has not used any proper classification of savage warfare. His »origin of war» refers mainly to an advanced stage of savage warfare. Thus he makes the same mistake as Letourneau in trying to oppose war through describing its early stages in as dark colours as possible. — See Militarism, chap. II, especially pp. 75, 87 and also chap. IV.

On the other hand, although in his political philosophy war is the leading principle, Oppenheimer is fully aware of the great difference between the warfare proper of the more advanced savages and the mere acts of revenge seen among those at a lower stage. »Die internationalen Beziehungen der primitiven Jäger untereinander dürfen nicht mit denen der Jäger und Hirten zu Hackbauern oder der Hirten untereinander auf eine Stufe gestellt werden. Wohl gibt es Fehden aus Blutrache oder wegen Weiberraubes oder wohl auch wegen Grenzverletzung der Jagdgebiete: aber ihnen fehlt jener Stachel, der nur aus der Habgier wächst, aus dem Wunsch fremde Arbeitserzeugnisse zu rauben. Darum sind die 'Kriege' der primitiven Jäger in der Regel weniger wirklicher Krieg als Raufereien und Einzelkämpfe, die häufig genug sogar . . . nach einem bestimmten Zeremonial und nur bis zu einem leichteren Grade der Kampfunfähigkeit, sogsagen 'auf einen Blutigen' gehen. Diese an Kopffzahl sehr schwachen Stämme hüten sich mit Recht, mehr Opfer zu bringen als — z. B. im Falle der Blutrache — unerlässlich, und vor allem davor, neue Blutrache herauszufordern». — Der Staat, p. 74.

With regard to the bias in many accounts of early warfare, it is worth remembering how modern military authors caution us against placing too much confidence in detailed accounts of any wars. Thus, General Sir Ian Hamilton writes: — »Military history must be always to some extent misleading When once the fight has been fairly lost or won, it is the tendency of all ranks to combine and recast the story of their achievements into a shape which shall satisfy their susceptibilities of national and regimental vainglory». ¹ Commander E. Hamilton Currey observes likewise: — »We cannot trust overmuch history, as prejudice is seldom eliminated in the writing, especially when such writing concerns the feats of arms performed by one's own countrymen». ² And speaking of the narratives of warlike events in ancient times particularly, Field-Marshal von der Goltz emphatically stresses their small historical value, lacking as they are in any unbiassed criticism. ³ If this be true of civilized peoples and their accounts of their own warlike achievements, we can hardly expect the imagination of savages to be less inventive in this respect. In fact, it is just among them that the »tendency to the marvellous» is most conspicuous, and this makes an inquiry into their warfare particularly difficult. War is certainly the last thing that primitive tradition forgets, Strinnholm justly observes in his description of the early Vikings and their wars. ⁴ Similarly, speaking of the natives of the Congo basin, Mr. Ward remarks that they have no history of any kind, and apparently make no attempt to perpetuate any epoch in their lives by means of earth or stone erections. The only events that their memory

¹ *Hamilton*, A Staff-Officer's Scrap-Book, vol. I, pref.

² *Currey*, The Psychology of Command; in *United Service Magazine*, 1910, vol. XLII, p. 41.

³ *Von der Goltz*, The Nation in Arms, p. 222. Cf. also *H. S. Chamberlain*, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, vol. I, p. 60; — *Gobineau*, Histoire des Perses, vol. I, p. 141, passim; — *Ragozin*, Chaldea, p. 196, 299 sq.; — *Yule*, Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 50.

⁴ *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 50 n.

holds are »fights and elephant hunts». ¹ Now, owing to the tendency to exaggerate their warlike events, savages are easily led gradually to make out of even comparatively small strifes, destructive battles. The Eskimo are among the best-armed races, ² nevertheless it does not follow that they are proportionately warlike; on the contrary, they are one of the most peaceful races that ever existed. And yet if we believe the Eskimo themselves, they have had great battles. But these can undoubtedly be reduced to cases of petty fighting at wide intervals of time, which a vivid imagination has gradually magnified, says Ratzel. ³ The Abipones »boast of martial souls», but are at the same time far from being heroes; on the contrary, they were as a rule »too unwilling to resign their lives». ⁴ So also Messrs. Spencer and Gillen point out of the aborigines of Australia, that they have »a marvellous capacity for exaggerating the reports of such fights that really take place». ⁵

¹ *Ward*, *A Voice from Congo*, pp. 227, 253; quoted by *Clodd*, in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1911.

² *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 544.

³ *Ratzel*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 540.

⁴ *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 348, *passim*.

Similarly we read of the Fijians: — »Regarding it from any point of view whatever, there is scarcely anything to excite admiration in Fijian warfare; and the deeds of which they boast most proudly, are such as the truly brave would scorn.» — *Williams and Calvert*, *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. I, p. 58.

⁵ *Spencer and Gillen*, *Across Australia*, vol. I, p. 200.

The following instance may be added to show the martial bragging of savages. Speaking of the Papuans in New Guinea, Mr. Rawling states that he once asked a furious war party, would the warriors eat their enemies? »'Yes! Yes!' was the unhesitating reply. It seemed to us, however, that speaking thus, they were actuated more by bravado than by any real intention . . .» After most furious excitement and preparations the party started. Soon, however, warrior after warrior turned home, until the whole expedition was postponed till to-morrow and when that day came the very enemies happened to come to visit. — P. 157 sq. — Giving a minute description of the great festivities which were arranged to celebrate the visit, Mr. Rawling observes: — »Had we not witnessed both

When thus the stories of savages themselves so greatly harmonize with the inclination of white travellers and other authors to look upon them as, before all, restless warriors, it follows more or less as a matter of course that we are often provided with accounts of savage warfare which can by no means always serve as a basis on which to build scientific theories. How erroneous such a procedure is may be shown from some further facts. We have been accustomed to believe that a state of incessant and most cruel warfare existed between the communities of the North American Indians.¹ This may be partly due to their contempt for the occupations of the Whites,² but undoubtedly it is due above all to exaggerated accounts of their wars. On the other hand, the following record of an Indian tribe is itself fully in agreement with all the instances quoted above. Describing a war-tipi³ of the Blackfeet, which was decorated with painted pictures referring to the greatest occurrences in their whole history, McClintock gives the following information: — »The brave act of a warrior was recorded, who saved the lives of two wounded comrades by carrying one with him on his own horse and leading a second horse carrying the other. The making of the first treaty with the whites, by a Blackfeet chief, was recorded as an event of great importance. A warrior stealing the first mule from the white soldiers was also regarded with special renown, because mules had never been seen before by the Blackfeet». ⁴ In fact, we have here no reference to armies or great battles, but to solitary acts of bravery only. Of the Chaco Indians Dr. Karsten⁵ writes, on the

events, it would have been hard to believe that such violent anger and thirst for revenge could have evaporated in so short a time.» — *Rawling*, *The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, p. 159; cf. p. 72.

¹ See e. g. *Steinmetz*, *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 54 sq.

² *Ross*, *Fur Hunters*, vol. I, p. 231.

³ *tipi* = tent.

⁴ *McClintock*, *Old North Trail*, p. 221.

⁵ *Karsten*, *Resor och forskningar i Gran Chaco*, II; in »*Hufvudstadsbladet*», 16. VI. 1912.

basis of his own experience, that their cruelty and warlike character have been greatly exaggerated. In short, when unbiassed observers investigate into the conditions of savage warfare and attribute no exaggerated importance to the accounts given by the primitive peoples themselves of their warlike enterprises, we get abundant statements such as these few examples would lead us to expect. It is, indeed, noteworthy how recent investigations made into savage life in general are as a rule inclined to attribute to warfare a far less important part than earlier authors, less qualified for the task, have done.

Bearing in mind these facts, it is rather remarkable that many modern authors in defending war have not been more aware of this »tendency to the marvellous« among savages and many travellers; although when it comes to the savage stage in the history of their own peoples, they are greatly annoyed if some ancient historian happens to let his own countrymen win laurels at the expense of these rude savages. Thus, to take one instance only, Steinmetz ² very emphatically denies that the battles between the Romans and the early Germans could ever have been as destructive as Caesar and others make out. So also in his »Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe« he cautions us against the tendency in white travellers and other observers to exaggerate the warlike nature of primitive peoples, because they do not expect to find quite other and different qualities in them. And yet, in his philosophy of war, Steinmetz himself pays no attention to this tendency, nor does he realize that such a great destruction of the enemy, as he considers to be impossible in the case of the early Germans, might be equally doubtful among other primitive peoples also.

² Steinmetz, Die Philosophie des Krieges, p. 62 sqq.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE

(Concluded)

In the two previous chapters, light was thrown upon the character of primitive warfare in general. It remains to inquire into two special questions.

It was pointed out in the beginning of the second chapter that relations of a matrimonial kind have often been a cause of disturbance between groups of primitive peoples. In fact, in the origin and the maintenance of matrimonial relations, certain authors have seen a direct cause of incessant warfare. How far customs like exogamy, capture of wives, and polygamy have led to actual warfare cannot be fully discussed here, but a few remarks may to a certain extent facilitate a juster estimate of the facts.

Following Mr. Atkinson,¹ Dr. McDougall² believes that »the primitive society was a polygamous family, consisting of a patriarch, his wives and children. The young males as they became full grown were driven out of the community by the patriarch, who was jealous of all possible rivals to his marital privileges. They formed semi-independent bands, hanging,

¹ *Atkinson*, *Primal Law*, p. 230 sqq.

² *McDougall*, *Social Psychology*, p. 282.

perhaps, on the skirts of the family circle. From time to time the young males would be brought by their sex-impulse into deadly strife with the patriarch, and when one of them succeeded in overcoming him, this one would take his place and rule in his stead.» Accordingly, »by combat alone could the headship of a family be obtained». ¹ There is however an essential difference between such strife within the family, if it has ever occurred, and a relation of open hostility between different social units.

McLennan ² has based his theory of the origin of exogamy on the hypothesis that the custom of killing daughters compelled men to obtain wives from other communities. Spencer ³ gives another explanation: exogamy was a natural consequence of warfare; women were captured and abducted together with other spoils, and when a warrior who subsequently married such a prize of war was more honoured than his less successful comrades, it gradually became a custom among warlike tribes not to marry within the group. Hence exogamy presupposed war. ⁴ Later and more careful inquiries, however, do not confirm these theories. In his epoch-making study »The History of Human Marriage», Westermarck ⁵ gives another and quite opposite explanation of the causes of this widespread custom. »What I maintain is, that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early youth, and that, as such persons are in most cases related, this feeling displays itself chiefly as a horror of intercourse between

¹ *McDougall*, Op. cit. p. 285.

² *McLennan*, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 75 sq., 90, 115, 160.

³ *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, p. 619 sqq., vol. II, p. 267.

⁴ Lamprecht argues that when among the early Germans the endogamic stage was gradually succeeded by exogamy, »dann artete er fast stets zu verheerenden Fehden aus, so jahrhundertelang unter den nordischen Germanen». — *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 111.

⁵ Westermarck's criticism on the theory of McLennan, see *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 311 sqq., and on the theory of Spencer, p. 314 sq.

near kin. — The existence of an innate aversion of this kind has been taken by various writers as a psychological fact proved by common experience; and it seems impossible otherwise to explain the feeling which makes the relationships between parents and children, and brothers and sisters, so free from all sexual excitement. But the chief evidence is afforded by an abundance of ethnographical facts which prove that it is not, in the first place, by the degrees of consanguinity, but by the close living together that prohibitory laws against inter-marriage are determined». ¹
 »Exogamy, as a natural extension of this instinct, would arise when single families united in small hordes». ²

Similarly, Frazer ³ derives the origin of exogamy from a peaceful source, *i. e.* from the deliberate division of the larger social units into two, four, and eight exogamous groups in order to avoid marriage between near relations. Therefore, Frazer ⁴ concludes, the theory of the warlike origin of exogamy is open to grave objections.

On examining more closely the methods of obtaining wives from other groups, we certainly find several examples of the actual capture and forcible abduction of women. It should, however, be borne in mind that these examples, in order to prove anything, should not refer to later periods and a higher level of civilization, when wars are already carried on more or less systematically and, above all, when women have been abducted together with other spoil. The facts, which are to be dealt with in this connection must imply an actual cause of war, not a mere result of it.

¹ *Westermarck*, *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 320 sq. — Cf. also *Idem*, »Totemism and Exogamy»; in *Folklore*, vol. XXII, March 1911, pp. 84 sqq.

² *Westermarck*, *Op. cit.* p. 353; — *Idem*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 364 sqq.

³ *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. IV, p. 105 sq.

⁴ *Frazer*, *Op. cit.* vol. IV, pp. 76 sq., 88, 90 sq.

Speaking of the aborigines of Australia, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state: — »To the casual observer what looks like a capture is in reality an elopement, in which the woman is an aiding and abetting party. Marriage by capture is . . . by no means the rule in Australian tribes, and too much stress has been laid upon this method». ¹ And, what is still more remarkable, they add that there are no traces left even to indicate that marriage was originally by capture. ² In conformity with these statements, Wheeler remarks: — »Early observers were led to lay a disproportionate importance on marriage by actual capture and forcible abduction from other tribes». ³

What thus holds good of the Australian aborigines, Abercromby is inclined to lay down as a rule ⁴, when he ascribes this custom in general more to the innate desire of men to display their courage than to a survival from a still earlier habit of capturing women in war. Finally, Westermarck ⁵ believes that

¹ *Spencer and Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32.

² *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 104.

³ *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 88.

⁴ *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 388. — Speaking of the early Finns, Abercromby asserts: — »The probability is . . . that in prehistoric times wives were largely, though not exclusively, obtained without fighting». — The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, p. 189. Cf. also the following pages. — *Hildebrand*, Recht und Sitte, p. 7 sq.

As further testimony to this effect, reference may be made to statements made by Mr. Williamson, Miss Fletcher, and Mr. La Flesche. According to the former, runaway marriages are to be found among the Mafulu; and the latter observers state that all the marriages among the Omaha were elopements. — *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 173; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 324.

According to Herodotus, the ancient Greeks considered that the capture of wives was not worthy of being punished, because if the woman did not consent to be captured and afterwards to remain with the capturer, real capture would happen seldom. — *Herodotus*, History, I., 4; cf. also 5.

⁵ *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 389. »Its prevalence seems to have been much exaggerated by McLennan and his school». — *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 382.

marriage by capture was never the sole form of marriage, and I am greatly indebted to him for further information to the effect that later inquiries have still more convinced him of the exaggerated importance usually laid on actual capture; not even among so warlike a people as the Berbers of Morocco does any trace of marriage by capture occur.

On the other hand, Professor Giddings¹ maintains that the transition from the metronymic to patronymic kinship has taken place under the influence of the capture of wives; hence the »direct relation between patronymic kinship and marriage by capture is recognized by all writers«. Yet he himself shows that this transition can well have been brought about in another less forcible way.²

The resistance offered by brides, and incumbent on them at wedding ceremonies, does not in every case support the idea that it is a direct survival of an earlier actual resistance to some strange captor. Spencer³ ascribes this custom largely to the real or feigned modesty of the bride, and, supporting⁴ this opinion, Westermarck observes: — »Each sex is attracted by the distinctive characteristics of the opposite sex, and coyness is a female quality. In mankind, as among other mammals, the female requires to be courted, often endeavouring for a long time to escape from the male. Therefore also the marriage ceremonies of many peoples bear testimony to the same effect«. ⁵ Further, if the parents and the would-be bridegroom have agreed upon the matter without the direct consent of the girl, there is also likely to arise on her part some resistance at the decisive moment. We even read that among some primitive peoples a girl prefers death to yielding to the parental wishes.⁶

¹ *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 286.

² *Op. cit.* p. 287.

³ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 623 sq.

⁴ *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 388.

⁵ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 435.

⁶ *Dobrizkoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 207.

In short, it seems reasonable to believe that the origin of the resistance incumbent on brides at the wedding ceremonies is at least as much due to these compulsory forms of marriage¹ as to the earlier prevalence of resistance to strange captors. It is also rather remarkable that, as Grosse remarks, the »ceremony of capture« is less common among lower races than among those who are already at a higher level of development.² Furthermore, in exogamous communities, even in cases where the bride has given her consent, she is likely still to offer at least some sort of woeful resistance when taking leave not only of her relatives but also of the home and the friends of her childhood.³ It should finally be noticed that the custom of resistance may originate from actual capture within the tribe instead of originating from capture from without;⁴ and that resistance offered at wedding ceremonies may have been diffused through imitation.⁵

More common perhaps than the custom of obtaining wives by capture are those instances in which men have been compelled to fight against rivals. Yet it is remarkable that of all such combats referred to by Westermarck⁶ a comparatively small proportion directly indicate real battle, while the majority of them imply other more or less peaceful forms of competition and displays of strength. Of the instances given by Darwin⁷, none directly implies deadly fighting, and of the five statements quoted by Spencer⁸ there are only two referring to cases of a more serious character. To add some instances, Nelson was informed by an old man among the Eskimo about Behring Strait that »in ancient times when the husband and a lover quarrelled

¹ *Westermarck*, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 221 sq.

² *Grosse*, *Die Formen der Familie*, p. 106.

³ *Roscoe*, *Baganda*, p. 90.

⁴ *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, p. 623.

⁵ *Spencer*, *Op. cit.* vol. I p. 626.

⁶ *Westermarck*, *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 159 sqq.

⁷ *Darwin*, *The Descent of Man*, vol. II, p. 323 sq.

⁸ *Spencer*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 601 sq.

about a woman they were disarmed by the neighbours and then settled the trouble with their fists or by wrestling, the victor in the struggle taking the woman». ¹ Of the Chavantes in Brazil, von Martius states that the rival who could carry, or in some cases throw, a heavy block furthest became the winner. ² Moreover, there is no lack of instances where other qualities besides mere physical force enable savages to obtain the best wives. »Those that are good hunters», says Hennepin, of the North American Indians in general, »have the choice of the finest women; the rest have none but the homeliest and the refuse». ³

One particular peaceful method of concluding marriage is the custom, whereby men leave their group and obtain wives in neighbouring communities, attaching themselves to the people of their wives. ⁴ According to Westermarck, this custom »seems to have arisen very early in man's history». ⁵

The view has been expressed, among others, by Spencer, ⁶ that polygamy is essentially the result of warlike struggles. But the origins of it are by no means so closely connected with war as is often asserted. On the contrary, where wars do not give rise to slavery, polygamy above all is an important economic institution, largely in conformity with the wishes of the women themselves. Thus, for instance, among the Blackfeet, »it was considered desirable for a girl to marry a chief with several

¹ *Nelson*, The Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 292.

² *Martius*, Unter den Urewohnern Brasiliens, p. 59.

³ *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 80; cf. p. 117.

⁴ Giddings writes: — »If the husband chooses to go back to his own people, he must leave his family and property unless he can get them away as plunder, as Jacob did when he left Laban». — Principles of Sociology, p. 268. — It is, however, hardly right in such a case to speak of plunder. We have here a case rather of elopement than of forcible abduction.

⁵ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 382.

⁶ *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 655.

wives, because the work would be divided among them. If a girl married a poor man, who could afford but one wife, her life would be filled with drudgery and hard labour.»¹ Similarly among the Omaha² a wealthy man was vested with the duty of arranging feasts; one wife could not do all this work, and polygamy was therefore an absolute necessity. Speaking of the duty of hospitality among certain negroes, Livingstone observes: — »One of the most cogent arguments for polygamy is that a respectable man with only one wife cannot entertain strangers as he ought».³ According to Roscoe⁴, polygamy is above all an economic institution among the Baganda.⁵

On the other hand, it is certainly true that in several instances wars have disturbed the proportion between the sexes, and thus it has devolved on polygamy to give new strength to the family.⁶ It is, however, worthy of notice that where this takes place we meet with a comparatively advanced stage of civilization.⁷ Wars are waged among such peoples, not in order to capture wives but more or less generally for the sake of plunder, and wives are accordingly captured because of wars. All the instances bearing testimony to the relation between primitive warfare and polygamy must prove that wars have directly arisen from the practice of polygamy among very rude savages; otherwise there is not reason enough to conclude that polygamy *per se* is one of the main causes of warfare among savages of a very rude type. And this can hardly be proved to any considerable extent. On the contrary, even among comparatively advanced savages, polygamy is often restricted to the upper classes, and among

¹ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 189.

² *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 326.

³ *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 196.

⁴ *Roscoe*, Baganda, p. 95.

⁵ For further particulars see *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 491 sqq.

⁶ *Spencer*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 659.

⁷ *Westermarck*, Op. cit. p. 465 sq.

very low savages monogamy is generally prevalent.¹ Hence, whatever may be the share of polygamy in warfare among savages at a higher level of development, it has hardly been one of the main causes of that martial spirit which has so often, although erroneously, been looked upon as a characteristic of primitive society.

It thus seems just to infer that as far as exogamy, combat between rivals, and polygamy are concerned, the theories which see in these traits of savage life some of the main causes for the alleged prevalence of incessant warfare are not really well founded. And yet, as was observed in the beginning of the second chapter, women have been everywhere in primitive societies a frequent cause of disturbance between neighbouring communities. Undoubtedly these strifes have had more of a juridical character than anything else. And, even if it be true, is not the punishment for adultery and the like incumbent above all on the families concerned, and not as a rule on the entire community?²

In short, the relation of primitive marriage to war does not in any way constitute an exception to the inference drawn above from the character of savage warfare in general.

II.

Our investigation into savage warfare was required in order to obtain, as far as possible, a true view of the part of war in the establishment of primitive government. The exposition, however, as given in the previous chapters, is insufficient, in so far as many of the quotations dealing with savage warfare were taken from present times and a few only from earlier ages. Hence there remains the possibility of holding that the com-

¹ *Westermarck*, Op. cit. pp. 459, 495, and chap. XXII.

² *Westermarck*, The History of Human Marriage, p. 122; — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 449 sq. — In addition, see *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, p. 277.

paratively restricted state of warfare prevalent among savages during the modern times referred to, is chiefly due to a decrease of warfare *pari passu* with an increasing civilization, and that the existence of quite peaceful communities among savages is a consequence of this fact, and not a result of an early stage of comparatively peaceful character. In other words, it may, perhaps, be said that the exposition of primitive warfare, as it is given above, does not really prove that primitive government did not generally originate under highly warlike conditions prevailing in earlier times than those to which reference was made above.

In order to meet such an objection, we shall investigate whether wars have been decreasing or increasing among those primitive peoples who are generally maintained to be warlike; and attention will be given to hypotheses concerning the pugnacious character of very early man. When, thus, the character of the terminal points, broadly speaking, has been made out, some conclusions as to the character of the intervening development can be put forward.

Previous to the arrival of the Europeans in New Zealand, the wars between the different Maori tribes were less frequent and less destructive than later on. Mr. Gudgeon states as regards the real seriousness of the early warfare: — »Tribes were indeed conquered for having uttered a few idle words in depreciation of their neighbours, but I am of opinion that few men were killed on such occasions». ¹ In fact, all the traces of the earlier cultivation of the land, the large ruins of former *pa's* or fortified villages, and many other facts, indicate that the population was considerable till the end of the sixteenth century. The Maori themselves are of the same opinion, affirming that they were much more numerous in former times than they are now. ² Later on, warfare gradually increased »to such an extent that

¹ Gudgeon, The Whence of the Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 174.

² Pakeha Maori, Old New Zealand, p. 180.

the natives», as Manning¹ remarks, »at last believed a constant state of warfare to be the natural condition of life, and their sentiments, feelings, and maxims became gradually formed on this belief». In the early years of the nineteenth century, warfare became incessant; the natives now procured firearms, and the fate of the whole race was soon sealed.² As to another of the most warlike nations referred to by certain war philosophers,³ namely the Fijians, we are similarly informed that their early wars were quite insignificant. According to Mr. Thomson, »there is ground for believing that the wars before 1780 were little more than skirmishes»⁴ and »none of the great confederations existed before 1800».⁵ The weaker party always found sufficient shelter in their fortresses, which could be subdued by treachery only.⁶ But as soon as firearms were introduced in 1808, »native wars became far more destructive».⁷ Other writers bear witness to the same effect. The missionary Williams says that »old men speak of the atrocities of recent times as altogether new and far surpassing the deeds of cruelty which they witnessed fifty years ago».⁸ As this later observation was made in 1858, it fully confirms the testimony of Mr. Thomson. Significant also is the account of the state of warfare in Tonga as given by Mariner. »At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands the habits of war were little known to the natives; the only quarrels in which they had been engaged had been among the inhabitants of the Feejee islands . . . for having been in the habit of visiting these islands for sandal wood, they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike parties against

¹ *Pakeha Maori*, Op. cit. p. 185.

² *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes of Maori; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, pp. 144 sq., 150.

³ *E. g. Steinmetz*, Die Philosophie der Krieger, p. 53.

⁴ *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 86.

⁵ *Thomson*, Op. cit. p. 85.

⁶ Op. cit. pp. 60, 93.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 60.

⁸ *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 119.

the enemy». ¹ They learned likewise in Fiji to make better arms. Indeed, speaking of the South Sea Islanders in general, Ellis maintains that wars, and other destructive customs more or less connected with it, have certainly increased lately, and thus caused a rapid decline of the population. »Society must at some time have been more favourable not only to the preservation, but to the increase of the population, or the inhabitants could never have been so numerous as they undoubtedly were a century or a century and a half ago». ²

Turning to the warlike Dyaks, we are informed by various authors that head-hunting in Borneo is »a fashion of comparatively modern growth»; ³ thus, although it existed before, yet it was only during the last century that it became a predominant feature in the life of the Dyaks. ⁴

The Masai were a relatively peaceful race until their god was supposed to have handed down to them all the cattle of the surrounding communities. ⁵ Then their warlike activities soon increased until they became one of the most martial tribes in the whole of East Africa. ⁶ Speaking of the Galla in general, Ratzel ⁷ remarks that whilst the Northern Wallo-Galla in Abyssinia, owing to their Mohammedan fanaticism, are certainly warlike, rapacious, and faithless, the pagan Southern Galla display the opposite qualities. In other cases also the military spirit has increased among the natives of Africa *pari passu* with the spread of Islam. ⁸ Another cause which in comparatively

¹ *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. I, p. 72 sq.

² *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 32.

³ *Boyle*, Adventures among the Dyaks, p. 170.

⁴ *Low*, Sarawak, p. 188; cf. pp. 214 sq.; 303 sq. — See also *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 411.

⁵ *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 272, 276; — *Kallenberg*, Auf dem Kriegspfad gegen die Massai, p. 93 sq.

⁶ *Merker*, Op. cit. p. 117, passim; — *Kallenberg*, Op. cit. p. 93; — *Thomson*, Through Masai Land pp. 272, 276.

⁷ *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 161 sq.

⁸ *Ratzel*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 322, 494 sqq., 502 sqq., 512, 518.

modern times has called forth warlike activity in Eastern Africa is raiding for the purpose of capturing cattle.¹ From this we have reason to conclude that previous to the domestication of cattle and the change this brought about in the occupation of the natives, the conditions must have been less warlike. Hence, the universal prevalence of cattle raids in Eastern Africa at the present time ought hardly to be counted among the facts brought forward — *e. g.* by Steinmetz² — to prove the extremely warlike nature of early ages and savage conditions in general. Among the Kafirs, »in olden days the men shared all the work with the women, until military necessities compelled them to attend to the duties connected with fighting. In this way war became the main work of the men». ³ In his description of the reigns of certain great Kafir kings, Ratzel⁴ distinctly shows how this increase in warfare took place during their rule in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and how the pugnacious instincts of the warriors were excited by manifold means. The same author also observes, that the demand for slaves has favoured expeditions for plunder and given rise to true robber-peoples.⁵ These facts undoubtedly justify us in concluding that among the coloured races of Africa also wars have increased within historical times.

Similar conclusions are well supported by facts drawn from the North American Indians also. According to Mr. Dunn, the Blackfeet Indians were in earlier times rather peacefully disposed, and only later acquired »the character of ferocity». ⁶ Not before the formation of the famous league in 1570 did the different tribes of the Iroquois display any particular propensity to warfare, but as soon as the league was established »a thirst for mili-

¹ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 100.

² *Steinmetz*, *Die Philosophie des Krièges*, p. 56 sq.

³ *Kidd*, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 399.

⁴ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. II, p. 123.

⁵ *Ratzel*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 37. — Cf. *Kidd*, *Op. cit.* p. 304 sq.

⁶ *Dunn*, *History of Oregon*, p. 319.

tary glory» arose among them, and this again was promoted by the facility with which firearms were procured from the Dutch and English.¹ When during comparatively recent times wars had a tendency to increase among the Omaha, the people themselves laid down important rules in order to check the disturbing activity of private war expeditions.² Indeed, speaking of the warfare of the North American Indians in general, Powell affirms that, since the arrival of the Whites, wars have prevailed among them far beyond the degree existing at earlier times. »The character of the Indian since the discovery of Columbus has been greatly changed, and he has become far more warlike and predatory. Prior to that time, and far away in the wilderness beyond such influence since that time, Indian tribes seem to have lived together in comparative peace and to have settled their difficulties by treaty methods. A few of the tribes had distinct organization for purpose of war; all recognized it to a greater or less extent in their tribal organization; but from such study as has been given the subject and from the many facts collected from time to time relating to the intercourse existing between tribes, it appears that the Indians lived in comparative peace». ³ This is the view of Dellenbaugh also, and is, too, fully in conformity with the character of Indian warfare as depicted in the previous chapters.⁴

As for the so-called Aryans, it was stated above that the early Slavs were less warlike than the contemporary Germans. As regards these again, there is every reason to believe that their warlike qualities were of relatively late growth, although almost every modern author dealing with early German life strongly

¹ *Morgan*, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 8, 10; — *Mooney*, *The Siouan Tribes*, pp. 12, sqq., 21.

² *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 122.

³ *Powell*, *Indian Linguistical Families*; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 39; — see also *Hooper*, *The Tuski*, pp. 273 sq., 357 sq., 367 sq.

⁴ *Dellenbaugh*, *The North-Americans of Yesterday*, p. 366.

assumes the opposite.¹ Their religion was warlike, so were their gods, and their heaven was a battle-field, says Lamprecht.² No wonder then, the same author adds, that their political conditions were nothing else than those of a warrior state; nay even the names of their women referred to their warlike occupation.³

Let us, however, examine these views so common among modern German authors and defenders of war. As for their religion, Tius or »The Father of All» was their supreme god, who later on, however, was replaced by the more warlike Wotan;⁴ yet not even he was looked upon as only a war god; to him later on many peaceful attributes were given.⁵ Wotan had been earlier the god of Death. If, now, warlike enterprises had a tendency to decrease, as Lamprecht and others assume, it certainly is inexplicable why at the same time a more warlike god should have been substituted. The only view therefore which seems to be well founded is that the god of Death rose to supremacy *pari passu* with an increasing warlikeness and loss of life in war.⁶ Similarly, in the case of early political life, we shall before long see⁷ that the early form of primitive chieftainship was by no means so warlike as is emphatically asserted above; otherwise the change which took place later on, when warlike activity came to be at its height, would not have been so conspicuous.

¹ *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 53, passim. — *Treitschke*, Politik, vol. II, p. 745 sqq.; — *Jähns*, Ueber Krieg, Frieden und Kultur p. 140 sqq.

² *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 136.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 165.

⁴ *Dahn*, Die Germanen, pp. 40 sqq., 102 sq.; — *Lamprecht*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 193 sq.; — *Nitzsch*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 52 sqq.

⁵ »Im Laufe ihrer Entwicklung war Wotan zum Gotte aller höheren, edleren Begeisterung geworden, zum Gott der Erfindungen und der Geheimnisse, der Runen und der Heilkunst, der Dichtung und der gehobendramatischen Darstellung». — *Lamprecht*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 197; — *Jähns*, *Op. cit.* p. 142; — *Nitzsch*, *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. *Mogk*, Menschenopfer bei den Germanen; in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vol. XV, 1912, p. 429 sq.

⁷ See *infra*, chap. VII, VIII.

Other facts referred to as a basis for the warlike interpretation of the life of the early Germans are of about the same value. Thus, Lamprecht maintains also that the tribal consciousness and pride (*Stammesbewusstsein*, *Stammesstolz*) among the primitive Germans was in closest connection with their warlike qualities and activity.¹ This is again one of those instances where the early stages of modern nations are looked upon as something different from those of savages in general. As soon, however, as it is admitted that not even in respect of their primitive pride were the early Germans greatly different from primitive men in general, there is not much support left for the probability of this point of view, with its theory of the extremely warlike character of the early Germans. Once more to quote Westermarck,² he has certainly proved with great clearness that, even among the most peaceful savages, rudiments of »patriotism» are quite distinguishable. If an Eskimo, a Veddah of Ceylon, or a wretched Ainu is convinced of »the superiority of their own blood and descent over that of all other peoples of the world»,³ a primitive German need not necessarily have been more warlike than these wholly peaceful savages to be proud of his tribe.⁴

¹ *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 7 sq.

² *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 167 sq.

³ *Westermarck*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 172.

⁴ More as a matter of illustration reference may be made to the following instance also. In his description of the early Germans, Lamprecht writes among other statements: — »Vor allem schob der steigende Verkehr die kriegerischen Gedanken des Volkes. . von Zeit zu Zeit in den Hintergrund und unterstützte dadurch den neuen Friedensstaat in der Verdrängung des alten Kriegsstaates; und noch mehr durchbrach der Handel die alte Anschauung von der Ausschliesslichkeit des nationalen Rechtes. indem er ein gottgeheiligt Gastrecht entwickeln half». — Op. cit, vol. I, p. 172. How, then, has hospitality become universal among all those savages, who are said to live in a state of incessant warfare? There is certainly every reason to drop the theory of a state of utter hostility among the early Germans, and to hold that hospitality among them was called forth in much earlier times and by the same causes, as among primitive peoples in general. — See *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, chap. XXIV.

Another rather peculiar kind of proof is the use of old myths and legends, as well as of the statements of certain Roman historians, to prove the martial spirit of the primitive German tribes. Has not a vivid imagination among these peoples played its part also in these cases, so as to exaggerate their own warlike achievements? And if with regard to the old historical accounts, modern German authors more or less emphatically deny the truthfulness of Caesar's and Tacitus' narratives, when they speak of the great defeats and the slaughter of tens of thousands of their German adversaries, are then, on the other hand, all their statements which seem to satisfy the longing of modern authors for a warlike ancestry so well founded that no criticism whatever is required in their case? ¹ Krauss ² was undoubtedly aware of this fact when asserting that »der Urgermane« became a warrior but gradually.

Moreover, there are other facts as well to prove that the theories of the extremely warlike character of the early Germans are by no means well grounded. If an extraordinary love of fighting had formed the original character of these peoples, how then could it have been almost wholly lost in a comparatively short time? Even Ratzenhofer ³ himself admits that the early Gothic and Franconian kings tried in vain to enforce the *arrière-ban* as their peoples lost their fighting qualities; and during the reigns of the first Emperors the German merchant-class and the peasantry were already utterly unused to warlike activity, as Nitzsch, ⁴ another author in whose history the theory of the

¹ Thus it has been observed of Caesar that he was »thoroughly imbued with the haughty feeling of the true Roman, that it was beneath his dignity to take notice of minute distinctions among those nations, who, to the imperial people, were all alike classified under the generic title of barbarians» — *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1863, p. 42:

See also *Dahn*, *Die Könige der Germanen*, criticism of Caesar, vol. I, pp. 39—49, and of Tacitus, pp. 50—97.

² *Krauss*, *Krieg und Kultur in der Lebensgeschichte der Rasse*, p. 4 sq.

³ *Ratzenhofer*, *Soziologie*, p. 208.

⁴ *Nitzsch*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 6, 15, 164, 315 sq.

warlike nature of the primitive Germans is a fundamental motive, points out. Finally, it must be borne in mind that among the early Scandinavians, too, the characteristically warlike spirit was of comparatively late growth. The development of their social institutions and their industry, as well as the way in which they cleared new lands, indicate, Strinnholm¹ remarks, that their warlike inclinations had gained strength only gradually.

It is thus clear that the savage warfare to be observed among some of the most pugnacious communities now existing, as well as among the early Germans, grew gradually stronger within historical and recent times. Thus, that love of war among them, which many modern authors make use of to prove the extremely warlike character of early man in general, is found to be merely a relatively late feature in their character. Before this time, it seems proper to infer, these peoples were hardly more martial than those to whom reference was made in previous chapters. If this be true, and on the other hand, if savages in general are less warlike than has often been assumed, the question arises, what was the pugnacious character of man in still earlier times?

✓ Here we have to pass over to the domain of pure hypothesis.

According to M. Vacher de Lapouge,² « nous ne voyons pas la guerre ni même les meurtres individuels exister parmi les grands singes ». Further M. Vaccaro argues as regards the most primitive men: — « Aux premiers âges de l'humanité, . . . il est probable qu'ils vivaient, jusqu'à un certain point, en paix. S'ils s'étaient déchirés mutuellement, ils n'auraient pu ni survivre ni prospérer ». ³ Fully in conformity with this view are those held by Lester Ward and Ratzenhofer. According to Ward,⁴ during the most remote times a general differentiation took

¹ *Strinnholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. I, p. 9 sq., passim, vol. II, p. 305 sq., passim.

² *Vacher de Lapouge*, *Les sélections sociales*, p. 209.

³ *Vaccaro*, *Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ward*, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 201 sq., 218, 266.

place implying the possibility of relatively small strifes between different social units. Similar views are held by Ratzenhofer.¹ On the other hand, Westermarck puts forward the following theory. The solitary life generally led by the man-like apes is due chiefly to the difficulty they experience in getting food at other times of the year than in the season when most fruits come to maturity. »That our earliest human or half-human ancestors lived on the same kind of food and required about the same quantities of it as the man-like apes, seems to me a fairly legitimate supposition; and from this I conclude that they were probably not more gregarious than these apes». ² Even when man became carnivorous he may still have continued as a rule this solitary kind of life. ³ But a solitary life, on the other hand, implies occasional strifes only.

Be it as it may with regard to details, these authors ascribe to man in very early times no higher degree of pugnaciousness than that prevalent among the lower savages of our own times. Seeing that even to-day, in spite of comparatively strong bonds of social organization, wars are still in many instances matters of private enterprise, it seems fully reasonable to conclude that, at a time when there was no firmly established rule whatever within the groups, wars must to an even greater extent have arisen from private dissensions, and thus did not involve the participation of whole groups, held together as these certainly were by very loose bonds. As for the causes of such unorganized strife, all the authors who deal with the question of primitive man ascribe to him a high degree of nervous instability. ⁴ Thus, speaking of the character of the Australian aborigines, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen remark that they are sociable, tender towards old people and children,

¹ *Ratzenhofer*, *Soziologie*, p. 13.

² *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 195.

³ *Westermarck*, *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 42 sqq., 49 sq.

⁴ *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, pp. 56 sqq., 84, 89, passim; — *Ward*, *Pure Sociology*, p. 101; — *Clodd*, *Animism*, p. 46 sq.; — *Avebury*, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 572; — *Bagehot*, *Physics and Politics*, p. 18 sqq.

and hospitable, but at the same time »liable to fits of sudden passions». ¹ The extreme emotional variability of the Bushmen, ² Fuegians, ³ Abipones, ⁴ Indians of North America, ⁵ Maori, ⁶ Fijians, ⁷ Papuans ⁸, to quote a few instances only, has been pointed out by many authors. ⁹

A natural consequence of the extremely impulsive character of the savages is that injuries, real or imaginary, call forth sudden bursts of revengefulness. Describing a scene among the Veddas, when members of a strange group had crossed the boundary frontier, an occurrence which brought about instantaneous fighting, Messrs. Sarasin ¹⁰ remark that this instance is of interest, as we see in it the first appearance of war. Yet this fighting did not pass over into an ordinary war, because as soon as some of the fighters were slain the whole incident was played out. ¹¹ Similarly, among the Australian aborigines fighting arises out of sudden passions. However, »should any of the combatants be severely wounded, a wail on the part of the women and his rela-

¹ *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 32; cf. 50 sq.; — *Idem*, The Northern Tribes, p. 32; — *Wyatt*, The Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 162; — *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit., p. 258.

² *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. II, p. 224.

³ *King and Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 188.

⁴ *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 59. — As for the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, see *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 132.

⁵ *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, p. 94 sq.

⁶ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 15. passim; vol. XII, p. 18; vol. XIII, pp. 76, 80; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealander, vol. II, p. 16 sq.

⁷ *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, vol. I, p. 263; — *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. II, p. 121.

⁸ *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, pp. 60 sq., 163.

⁹ Cf. e. g. *Lagorgette*, Le rôle de la guerre, pp. 52 sq., 57.

¹⁰ *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 489.

¹¹ *Hiller and Furness*, A Trip to the Veddahs, p. 20.

tives soon becomes the prevailing noise and gradually puts a stop to the fight; after it is over perhaps every person that has been engaged in it is sorry that it has occurred, and the man who has inflicted a severe wound on his opponent will lament it as much and as sincerely as any of the rest». ¹ Similarly, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state that »one of the most striking features of the native character is the way in which, after a fight, the erstwhile hostile groups or individuals come together and appear to be on the best terms». ²

It is evident that similar qualities must be ascribed on a still larger scale to the savage in much earlier times. His revengefulness therefore might have caused a great deal of sudden fighting; his carrying out of blood-revenge or other forms of revenge may also have given rise to blood-shed, nevertheless, all these cases of combativeness were hardly likely to provoke any forms of organized warfare and, consequently, any large war expeditions.

There is still another reason for believing that the wars of the earliest men could not have been so destructive as has been assumed, namely the simple fact that mankind has survived. Suggestive in this respect is a statement made by Mr. Basil Thomson, who gives the following account of a recent battle between the aborigines of New Guinea: — »One party having been pursued on to the open beach made a stand, whereupon the pursuers halted, uncertain what to do. The pursued, taking heart, shouted their battle-cry and made a move towards them; the others ran back for fifty yards or so, and rallied in their turn. This bloodless see-saw having continued for three or four rounds, accompanied by much abusive language, the battle ended by

¹ *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes in South Australia, p. 244. — Cf. also *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 258; — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. V, p. 298.

² *Spencer and Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 199. — Cf. also vol. II, p. 383 sqq.; and *Schürmann*, Op. cit. p. 244 sq.

the invaders taking to flight. Never once did either side get within spear throw of the other, though spears enough flew harmlessly into the sand». ¹ Whereupon Mr. Thomson concludes: — »This dislike of hard knocks is a provision of Nature for perpetuating island races. Were it otherwise, how could an island thirteen miles by four continue to be populated? With pigs, women, and land to quarrel about, a race of warriors cooped up within such narrow limits would be reduced to a single warrior in less than a century». ² What thus holds true of island races in modern times can be applied with full justification to early savages in general. »Dislike of hard knocks» must have been one of the chief reasons for the preservation of the human race during the long ages previous to the dawn of history. This inference is still corroborated by the fact that the birth-rate among savages is lower and the death-rate of their offspring higher than is the case among civilized nations, and their struggle for existence is in every way more harsh and difficult. ³ Hence from this point of view also there is every reason to presume that the more we penetrate into early times the less we can attribute to the men then living warlike qualities more developed than would truly correspond to their low mental state in general and to the preservation of the race in particular. When Vacher de Lapouge points out of the early Aryans that »on se demande même à la lecture des chantes héroïques des premiers Aryens comment la fécondité des femmes pouvaient suffire à compenser la destruction incessante de la population adulte». ⁴ this just

¹ Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 131.

Dr. Nordenskjöld mentions a similar battle between two »considerable armies» of the Mataco and Choroti Indians. Fighting went on all day long; in spite of their firearms nobody was killed or wounded. At last, as soon as the former made an advance, the latter fled. — *Indianlif*, p. 120.

² Thomson, *Op. cit.* p. 132.

³ Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage* p. 490; — Darwin, *Descent of Man*, vol. I. p. 238.

⁴ Vacher de Lapouge, *Op. cit.* p. 211; — Lagorgette. *Op. cit.* p. 36.

remark is undoubtedly true of many of those modern philosophies of war also, which pay no proper attention whatever to the simple fact that the more we go back into the early ages of man the more the general difficulty of the preservation of the race increases, and accordingly the less possibility is there to assume that these times must have been devoted to warlike activity and the appeasing of blood-thirsty passions only.

If we combine this conclusion with the inference as regards the increase of warlike activity among those savage peoples who are recognized as pre-eminently the most militant known to us, the view must be accepted that the pugnacious nature of man has gradually increased, or as Bagehot puts it: — »The military strength of man has been growing from the earliest times known to our history straight on till now». ¹

III.

It remains to sum up what has been proved in this and the previous chapters with regard to the warlike nature of savage conditions. We started from the fact that even at the present time many savage communities, above all the lowest ones, do not carry on wars for the sake of indiscriminate slaughter and the pleasure of destruction, but are often content with the killing of relatively few of the enemy. A natural reason for the small death-rate is that warfare, to a great extent, is limited so as to affect only the actual combatants among the adversaries. Similarly, the inviolability of messengers is, as a rule, guaranteed: peace-making and the subsequent observance of treaties occur; and many forms of peaceful intercourse between different communities are found to prevail. Thus we have seen that savages recognize certain forms of regulated intertribal relationships, which may properly be called the origins of International Law.

¹ *Bagehot*, *Physics and Politics*, p. 48. See also *Novicow*, *La critique du darwinisme social*, p. 50 sq.; — *McDougall*, *Social Psychology*, p. 279.

Moreover, the character of savages was shown as a rule to be less pugnacious than has been assumed by many modern writers. Without further recapitulating the various modes of procedure, we merely refer to the fact that savages previous to departure on a war, and during the carrying on of hostilities generally use a variety of means to excite their bravery and thirst for blood. Thus these qualities are not *per se* so strongly developed in them as is often argued.

These features in savage life gave us the key for solving the question of how it is possible for truly peaceful communities to survive in the struggle for existence and maintain their independence. As was shown in the previous chapter, such units have existed or are still existing in all parts of the savage world.

Thus step by step we found that the authors who attribute extreme importance to the pugnacious instincts of savages and the warlike nature of their conditions in general, have made too hasty generalizations. Later, at the end of the previous chapter, we dealt more closely with the matter and found that writers such as Spencer, Vaccaro, Letourneau, Steinmetz, Gumpłowicz, Ratzenhofer, and Ratzel have paid attention more or less exclusively to the blood-thirsty features of savage life without at the same time taking proper notice of all the facts pointing to a desire to mitigate the harshness of warfare. Similarly, the instances of friendly intercourse between different units have not been properly valued. Moreover, reference was also made to the indisputable fact that the materials dealing with savage life must be carefully scrutinized because of the frequent tendency to lay exaggerated stress upon savage ferocity or phenomena which are brought into connection with it. As regards primitive marriage customs, it was found that some of the theories on their origin and maintenance had laid too much stress on the warlike nature of savage life.

In this chapter we further selected some of the most warlike races — the Maori, Fijians, Tongans, Dyaks, Galla, Masai,

Kafirs, North American Indians in general and the Iroquois in particular, as also the early Germans and the Vikings — and proved that, according to trustworthy statements, there is good reason to believe that the warlike aspirations of these races were of a relatively late growth. In former times they were scarcely more pugnacious or blood-thirsty than savages in general.

Being without material to throw light on still earlier conditions, we had recourse to hypotheses on the conditions which prevailed during the remotest times, and came to the conclusion that man in those ages was highly disposed to sudden outbursts of passion, and that his warlike actions were due to this mental disposition, that is to say, were of short duration. Finally, through combining this hypothesis with the conclusions as to the warlike character of the conditions still prevalent among savages, the inference was drawn that the pugnaciousness of man has gradually increased, and thus come to gain among certain savages that strength and social importance which modern defenders of war are inclined to ascribe to the warfare of primitive man in general.

CHAPTER V

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Bearing in mind our inferences with regard both to the true character of primitive warfare and to its gradual increase *pari passu* with the development of general civilization, we may reasonably doubt whether the origin and early development of savage government was due to warlike activity, at least to such an extent as is asserted by the authors quoted in the second chapter. The present and the following chapters will therefore be devoted to an inquiry into the origin of human societies, and subsequently into the origin and early development of government within them.

Authors who believe that the State owes its origin, at all events, to man's warlike activities, maintain, more or less as a matter of course, that the origin and development of the earliest human societies are likewise mainly due to co-operation for defensive and offensive purposes. Thus Spencer affirms: — »Coherence is first given to small hordes of primitive men during combined opposition to enemies. Subject to the same danger and joining to meet this danger, the members of the horde become, in the course of their co-operation against it, more bound together». ¹

¹ *Spencer, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 278.*

According to J. R. Green, the earliest organization of men »sprang in all likelihood mainly from war . . . Its form at any rate was wholly military». ¹ Gumpłowicz affirms that human groups have since the earliest times been formed through the everlasting »natural process» of warfare, subjugation and conquest. ² Steinmetz believes that the family was the earliest germ of society, yet he assumes that the different families were united through co-operation in war. Hence, he concludes that, without aggressiveness, no groups beyond the limits of the smallest family bounds would ever have developed. ³ Lamprecht assumes that the origin of all human organization lies in the protective power of warlike men. ⁴

On the other hand, as was observed above, there is no lack of opposite theories also. Thus, one of the most admirable chapters in Westermarck's »Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas» is his exposition how the social organization of man and the spontaneous development of the State is intrinsically connected with man's altruistic sentiments. He is thus by no means convinced of the correctness of a theory according to which social evolution is in the first instance mainly due to war.

Among the various theories about the social state of primitive man, the hypothesis which points to the family as the earliest form of human society seems to have obtained the greatest support. ⁵ Proceeding from this theory, Westermarck asserts

¹ *Green*, *English People*, vol. I, p. 14; cf. p. 17 sqq.

² *Gumpłowicz*, *Rassenkampf*, pp. 185, 193 sq., passim.

³ »Ohne Aggressivität keine Erweiterung der Gruppe über die ersten Anfänge hinaus». — *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 23.

⁴ »Die Schutzgewalt des kriegsmächtigen Mannes ist die ursprünglichste Grundlage menschlicher Ordnung.« — *Lamprecht*, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 91.

⁵ *McDougall*, *Social Psychology*, p. 268. — See also *Grosse*, *Die Formen der Familie*, pp. 42 sqq., 73 sqq.; — *Lang*, *Social Origins*, p. 1 sq., passim; — *Starcke*, *Primitive Family*, p. 274 sq.; — *Hildebrand*, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 1 sqq., 10 sqq.; — *Deniker*, *Races et peuples de la Terre*, p. 273; — *Steinmetz*, *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 22; — *Maine*, *Ancient Law*, p. 134; —

that the extension of the small family groups may have taken place in two different ways — by adhesion and by natural growth and cohesion. »New elements, whether other family groups or single individuals, may have united with it from without, or the children, instead of separating from their parents, may have remained with them and increased the groups by forming new families themselves». But, he adds, there can be little doubt that the latter was the normal mode of extension,¹ which took place as soon as economic conditions became sufficiently favourable.² In fact, consanguinity is, generally speaking, to be met with everywhere among savages known to us, as a basis of their social integration. Thus, according to Dr. Seligmann, a Vedda community consists of »from one to five families, who share the rights of hunting over a track of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing in its streams, and using the rock shelters». Each family, again, consists of parents, unmarried children, and married daughters and their husbands, while married sons are seldom found to live together with their parents.³ A step further in

McGee, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 200; supports Westermarck's theory, p. 203; — *McGee*, Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 10 sq.; — *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 474; — *Rawling*, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 275. — See also *Topinard*, L'Anthropologie et science sociale, p. 163 sqq.; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 264 sqq.

Lamprecht's hypothesis with regard to the prevalence of promiscuity among the early Germans is strongly opposed among others by *Chamberlain*, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, vol. I, p. 107 sq.; — cf. *Hearn*, Aryan Household p. 138 sq.

¹ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 196. — See also *Ratzenhofer*, Politik, vol. I, p. 8; — *Steinmetz*, Ethnologische Studien, vol. I, p. 369; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 50.

² *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 42 sqq.; — *Idem*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 198; — *Ratzenhofer*, Sociologische Erkenntnis p. 92; — *Spencer*, Principles of Psychology, vol. II, p. 624 sq.; — *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 210.

³ *Seligmann*, The Veddass, p. 62 sq.; cf. p. 68, passim.

the social organization is the clan.¹ Mr. Mathews describes a tribe of Australian aborigines as an aggregation of a number of families or groups which he terms sub-tribes, who speak the same tongue and whose territory is situated within specified geographical limits.² Among the Maori, the *rangatira*, or freemen, were kept together »more by custom and relationship than by any laws», says Dieffenbach. Each of them might have assembled around him a tribe of his own and could build a *pa* or fortress, a case which not infrequently happened. And this, the same author points out, »has probably been the origin of . . . great a variety of tribes — a powerful family forming a clan for themselves and adopting a name of their own».³ As for other Polynesian communities, consanguinity is everywhere to be met with at the bottom of the social organization of the aborigines.⁴ This is the case with the Melanesians⁵ and Papuans⁶ also. Of the North American Indians, Powell observes that »the fundamental units of social organization are bodies of consanguineal kindred either in the male or female line . . . These 'gentes' are organized into tribes by ties of relationship and affinity, and this organization is of such a character that the man's position in the tribe is fixed by his kinship.»⁷ Among

¹ *Sarasin*, Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 478 sq.; — *Seligmann*, Op. cit. p. 30, passim.

² *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; In Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 939; — cf. *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, pp. 15 sqq., 23 sqq., 52 sqq.

³ *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 115.

⁴ *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 280, 284; — *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 137; — *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 340; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 249 sqq.

⁵ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 375, 435 sqq.; 627, 671, 684 sqq., 741 sqq.; — *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 20 sqq.

⁶ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 421, passim. See also *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 82 sq.; cf. p. 89.

⁷ *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 69; cf. p. 60 sq.; — *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, pp. 81 sq., 90; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. p. 215; — *McClintock*, The

the Eskimo, the social order, according to Boas, is entirely founded on the family and ties of consanguinity and affinity between the individual families.¹ Consanguineal bonds are similarly to be found prevailing in the units of South American aborigines.² According to Mr. Kidd,³ the natives of South Africa are divided up into tribes, each of which is composed of clans, and these again consist of a number of families. Indeed, Dr. Steinmetz asserts that clan formation is the normal form of social organization among the natives in Africa.⁴ In Madagascar »names of districts involve primarily the idea of clans,

Old North Trail, pp. 187, 200; — *McGee*, The Relation of Institutions, p. 709; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. III, p. 8; — *Mooney*, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Siouan Outbreak; in 14:th Ann. Rept. p. 1093; cf. pp. 1044, 1079; — *Idem*, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept., p. 227 sq.; — *Elander*, The Chief of the Indian Clan in N. America, chap. 1.; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 37 sq., 41 sq., 57 sq., 195, 241; — *Hill Tout*, The Home of the Salish and Déné, p. 143 sqq.

¹ *Boas*, The Central Eskimo; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 578; — *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 21 sq.

² *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 80 sqq.; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 97 sqq.; — *Molina*, History of Chili, pp. 11 sqq., 115 sqq.; — *Latham*, The Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, p. 356 sqq.; — *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyage of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 131; cf. *Starcke*, Primitive Family, p. 37 sqq.

³ *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, pp. 5, 17, 32, 36 sq., 46.

⁴ *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 82; — *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 8, passim; — *Tessman*, Pangwe Exp.; in Globus, vol. XCVIII, p. 4; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 587, passim; — *Northcote*, The Nilotic Kavirondo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 59 sq.; — *Roscoe*, Baganda, pp. 13, 55 sq., 82 sq., 128 sq., 133 sq., 186 sq., passim; — *Dundas*, Tribes Inhabiting the Baringo District; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, pp. 49, 59, 61 sq., 65 sq.; — *Stannus*, Tribes of British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 307 sq.; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I pp. 9 sqq., 34 sqq., 42 sq., passim; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, p. 187 sqq.; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneau*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 6.

families, or classes of people». ¹ The Dyak communities ² were based on consanguinity, and similar is the case of the natives of Bengal. ³ In China, the unit of social life »is found in the family, the village or the clan, and these are often convertible terms». ⁴ Among the so-called Aryan peoples, the family and its extension according to the principles of blood-relationship have everywhere been the basis of social organization. This holds good also of such European peoples as are not reckoned among the Aryan races ⁵, as well as of the peoples of Semitic stock. ⁶

¹ *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 87 sqq.; — *Sibree*, Madagascar, pp. 136 sqq., 272 sqq.

² *Boyle*, Adventures, pp. 186, 198; — *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, pp. 116, 124, 128, 183 sq.

³ *Lewin*, The Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 100; — *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. XXIV, pp. 600, 605, 617, passim.

⁴ *Smith*, Chinese Characteristics, p. 226 sq.; cf. p. 14; — *Medhurst*, Ancient China, pp. 142, 209, 283; — *Pauthier*, Chine, p. 135.

⁵ *Lyall*, Formation of Clans; in Fortnightly Review, XXI, p. 117; — *Zimmer*, Altindisches Leben, pp. 119 sqq., 158 sqq., 305 sqq.; — *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 430 sq.; — *Aristotle*, Politics, I, 1, 2; — *Herodotus*, History, VIII, 144; — *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, II, 15; — *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 667; — *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 49; — *Dixon*, Free Russia, vol. II, p. 61; — *Tacitus*, Germania, 7, 18 sqq.; — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 25, passim; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 11 sqq.; — *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 67; — *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 12 sq.; — *Idem*, English Constitution, p. 9 sq.; — *Hearn*, Aryan Household, pp. 133, 178, 181, passim; — *Maine*, Early History, p. 65; — Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, pref. p. xiv, xv, n, cxliv; — *Seebohm*, Tribal Custom, p. 497; — *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, pp. 138 sq., 284, 324 sq.; — *Mitchell*, Highlands, p. 295 sq.; — *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, passim.; — *Abercromby*, The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, pp. 179 sq., 195 passim; — *Koskinen*, Suomen kansan historia, p. 20; — *Castrén*, Nordiska Resor, vol. IV, p. 154; — *Müller*, Der Ugrische Volkstamm, vol. I, part II, pp. 381, 392, passim. — *Pallas*, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches, vol. II, p. 257; — *Wichmann*, Votjaakkien Mytologiasta; Suomi, ser. III, vol. VI, pp. 15 sqq., 40 sqq.; — *Boué*, Turquie, pp. 15 sq., 530.

⁶ *Maine*, The Early History of Institutions p. 65.

The bonds of a common descent are in many cases extended so as to include aliens also. By means of adoption, strangers are amalgamated with the families and henceforward reckoned among their members. Thus, speaking of the Samoans, Turner observes that, after the death of the family head, »the son is sometimes passed over, and the title» (of the head of the family) »is given, by common consent, to a perfect stranger, merely for the sake of drawing him in, to increase the numerical strength of the family». ¹ In New Caledonia, war prisoners were adopted, ² and a similar custom prevailed among the North American Indians. ³ For this or other reasons adoption is to be found among many other primitive communities also. ⁴

Another important cause of integration is local proximity. If the local circumstances assure sufficient food supplies, not merely kinsmen live in more or less close units, but local proximity itself may call forth amicable relations and integration. ⁵ Yet it must be borne in mind that local proximity does not necessarily imply social organization. »A mere gathering of individuals», Spencer justly observes, »does not constitute them a society. A society in the sociological sense is formed only when

¹ *Turner*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 280.

² *Rochas*, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 252.

³ *McGee*, *Seri Indians*; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 277*; — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. pp. 61 sq., 133, 424, 603; — *Powell*, *Wyandot Government*; in 1:st Ann. Rept. p. 68; — *Morgan*, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 344.

⁴ *Seligmann*, *The Melanesians*, p. 70 sq.; — *Boas*, *Central Eskimo*; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 580; — *Hodson*, *The Naga Tribes*, p. 98; — *Post*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. I, p. 37 sq.; — *Munzinger*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 322; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, *La Kabylie*, vol. II, p. 189; vol. III, p. 68 sq.; — *Grimm*, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 463 sq.; — *Steinmetz*, *Ethnologische Studien*, vol. I, p. 410 sq.; — *Hearn*, *Aryan Household*, p. 84; — *Maine*, *Ancient Law*, p. 137 sq.; — *Idem*, *Early History* p. 69; — *Avebury*, *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 100 sq. — See also *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 21, vol. III, p. 49 sqq.

⁵ *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, pp. 24 sqq.; vol. II, p. 268 sqq.

besides juxtaposition there is co-operation». ¹ Local proximity tends to call forth marriages between neighbouring units, who also take part in one another's feasts, ceremonies, etc. These traits are especially illustrated by the social organization of the Australian aborigines. ²

Blood-relationship and local proximity also bring about religious consolidation. Westermarck justly observes that among savages »a religious community generally coincides with a community of another kind. There are tutelary gods of families, clans and tribes, and a purely local group may also form a religious community by itself». It is, accordingly, often difficult to distinguish the real influence of religion in social integration. ³ None the less, its secondary value, at any rate, has been by no means insignificant in strengthening the primary bonds of consanguinity and local proximity, nor must its influence on primitive government be depreciated. Only to refer to a few instances, *e. g.* the custom of *tauvu* (= sprung from the same root), among the Fijians, clearly indicates the integrating value of a common religion among kindred tribes. It applies, says Mr. Thomson, to two or several tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, »and have nothing in common but their gods». They may have held no intercourse for generations, yet they never forget the tribe with which they are *tauvu*. »Members of that tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its animals, and ravage its plantations, while it sits smiling by; for the spoilers are its brothers, worshippers of common ancestors, and are entitled in the fullest sense to the freedom of the city». ⁴ It was similarly religion that united the entire nation of the Santals. ⁵

¹ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 244.

² *Spencer* and *Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 8, 14, 272; — *Idem*, The Northern Tribes, passim; — *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 199 sq.; — *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, passim.

³ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 210.

⁴ *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 5.

⁵ *Hunter*, Rural Bengal, vol. I, p. 186.

And to take an instance of the influence of religion on the intra-tribal integration, reference may be made to the Omaha, Ponka, Osage, Kansas, and others. Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that tribal organization among these Indians was »based on certain fundamental religious ideas pertaining to the manner in which the visible universe came into being». ¹ »The expression of these ideas in the form of rights seems to have been early achieved, and those which symbolically present the connection of cosmic forces with the birth and well-being of mankind seem to have persisted in whole or in part throughout the various experiences of the five cognate tribes and to have kept an important place in tribal life». ² Moreover, the central thing in the religious customs of the Omaha was the Sacred Pole. »It held the people together; without it the people might scatter, was the common expression as to the purpose and needed presence of the Pole». ³

As for the influence of religion on primitive government, the gods of savage families, clans and tribes are in very many cases deified ancestors, who are supposed to demand obedience continually. The part which ancestor-worship and primitive religion in general have played in primitive integration will be discussed presently in greater detail.

By the side of these unions of kindred, or of people living in each other's neighbourhood and worshipping common tutelary or local gods, there are secret societies, which provide a special form of organization, possessing in many instances extraordinary power and cohesion. Thus, speaking of the secret societies of the Blackfeet, Mr. McClintock observes: — »Men did not join the Blackfeet societies for pleasure, but to fulfil vows, generally made because of sickness or for some remarkable escape from danger. The leading societies ruled the camp . . . They

¹ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 402.

² *Op. cit.* p. 199; cf. pp. 134 sq., 200 sq.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 229; cf. pp. 198, 236, 243, 260, 596 sq.

strictly enforced the rule that private advantages must be surrendered to the public good». ¹ In his description of the natives of Cross River, Mr. Partridge writes of a secret society among the Efik: — »There can be no doubt that its influence in some form or another has permeated far and wide . . . and no Political Officer who has had any experience in dealing with the natives can deny that this secret society is quite the most powerful agency in these parts». ² Similarly, Dr. Codrington states of these societies in Melanesia that their »social power . . . was too great to be readily dissolved, and in the absence of any strong political organization the importance of the position of a number of the largest and most exclusive of the societies has been considerable». ³ As for these societies, which certainly were a form of social organization of great antiquity, ⁴ and their cohesive function among other peoples also, there is no lack of statements to the same effect. ⁵ None the less, there has been a tendency among authors supporting the theory of the warlike origin of the State, more or less to ignore the influence of these societies as an important factor in primitive integration. Yet the voluntary submission ⁶ to the sway of these societies shows to what extent even peaceable causes can call forth strong bonds of union and the sense of obligation.

Common descent and worship, as well as local proximity and membership of secret societies, involve *per se* co-operation for

¹ *McClintock*, *Old North Trail*, p. 646 sq. — As for other Indians, see *e. g.* *Sproat*, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 271; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 464 passim.

² *Partridge*, *Cross River Natives*, p. 36; cf. p. 207 sq. As for other peoples in West Africa see *e. g.* *Miss Kingsley*, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 526 sqq.

³ *Codrington*, *The Melanesians*, p. 74; cf. p. 54 sq., passim.

⁴ *Webster*, *Secret Societies*, passim; — *Partridge*, *Op. cit.* p. 35.

⁵ *Webster*, *Secret Societies*, passim; — *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. III, chapters XIX—XXI.

⁶ *Frazer*, *Op. cit.* vol. III, p. 548.

mutual benefit. Speaking of the Australian native, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe that »generosity is certainly one of his leading features». Moreover, the »very existence of such a custom, even if it be only carried out in the hope of securing at some time a *quid pro quo*, shows that the native is alive to the fact that an action which benefits someone else is worthy of being performed». ³ An instructive instance of the savage principle of mutual aid is also the Fijian *lala*. The communal *lala* built houses for members of the community, cleared roads, carried on barter, etc. ² Where it has been abolished as in Tonga and the Tongan community settled in Fiji »the necessity for combination is so keenly felt that the people have evolved a substitute of their own». They voluntarily form themselves into *kabani*, or companies, which are called together under the direction of an elected leader, to build houses, plant gardens and do other combined work for each other. ³ Of the Kafirs, those warlike natives of South Africa, Mr. Kidd points out that it is the »primary obligation» of every individual »to sacrifice, if needs be, everything for the good of the clan. This sound basis of the social state is undoubtedly one of the main causes of the stability of the Kafir society». ⁴ According to Dr. Nordenskjöld, the leading principle of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians of South America is, »we are brothers»; accordingly, they live in an almost complete communism. ⁵ Speaking of the Indians of Illinois, the early observer Hennepin remarks that the »union that reigns among that barbarous people ought to cover with shame the Christians». ⁶ As for the Eskimo, they have, Nelson writes, »an instinctive desire to do that which

¹ *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 48.

² *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 67.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 68; cf. p. 79 sq.

⁴ *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, p. 11; cf. pp. 7, 16 sq., 31 sq., 36 sq., 46; — *Idem*, The Essential Kafir, p. 316, *passim*.

⁵ *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, p. 29; cf. pp. 31, 34, 39, *passim*.

⁶ *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 95.

was most conducive to the general good of the community . . . Whatever experience has taught them to be best is done». ¹ Great tribute has been likewise paid to the helpfulness and charity of the Zirians. ²

These few instances indicate what we hear from all quarters of the world where savage peoples exist. ³ Some authors justly attribute to peaceful mutual aid the greatest social value. ⁴

¹ *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 294; — *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 22.

² Suomensukuisia kansoja Venäjällä; in Suomen Kuvalehti, 1875, p. 152.

³ *Sarasin*, Forschungen auf Ceylon, vol. III, p. 545, passim; — *Seligmann*, The Veddas, pp. 66, 86; — *Spencer and Gillen*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 50 sq.; — *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, The Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 243 sq.; — *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 124; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. II, p. 106; — *Colenso*, On Maori Races; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. I, pp. 8 sq., 57; — *Thomson*, Savage Island, p. 137; — *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, pp. 93, 115, passim; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 192; — *Erskine*, The Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 247; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 153 sq.; — *Turner*, Samoa, pp. 141, 276, 322 sq.; — *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 261; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. passim; — *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 232, passim; — *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 172; — *Ross Browne*, Apache Country, p. 141 sq.; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, pp. 583, 760, passim; — *McGee*, The Relation of Institutions, p. 707; — *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, pp. 76, 238, 533 sq.; — Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 58; — *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 86, 93, 117, 169 sq., 195, 270; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, pp. 206 sq., 308 sq.; — *Lichtenstein*, Travels, vol. I, p. 266; — *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 139.

A large collection of facts in *Steinmetz's* »Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien.»

See also *Wilda*, Das Gildenwesen, pp. 3 sq., 26 sq., 244; — *Hume*, History of England, vol. I, p. 206 sq.; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, pp. 427 sq., 453; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 148, passim.

⁴ *Aristotle*, Ethics, VIII, 12., IX, passim; *Idem*, Politics, I, 1 sqq., VIII, 8, passim; — *Kropotkin*, Mutual Aid; — *Westermarck*, The Moral

Yet thoroughly interwoven as it is — as was the case with religion also — with the consolidating tendencies of common descent and other similar factors, its part in primitive integration is often depreciated or even more or less overlooked. This is particularly the case when authors maintain that co-operation in war is the most important form of mutual aid among savages because it is alleged to be more or less compulsory. In fact, here lies the vital point in primitive integration, and the mistake made by writers who defend war as the main cause of early integration becomes evident if the consolidating value of all the peaceful causes above mentioned is compared with that of war.

In spite of the savage customs of killing parents or children and all the other traits of a more or less similar nature which are often met with, the rule can be laid down that the assistance offered by parents to children and *vice versa*, or by other members of the same community to each other, is, broadly speaking, certainly not of a less compulsory character than co-operation in primitive warfare, which is often restricted to the nearest relatives only, or is based on entirely voluntary principles. Moreover, all the various forms of peaceful co-operation called forth by common descent, local proximity, and the like, are likewise permanent and prevalent among those savages who seldom, if ever, carry on war; while co-operation in war itself rests as a rule on the primary basis of consanguinity, local proximity, or common worship. It is from them that warlike co-operation results, and not *vice versa*; that is to say, common descent, local proximity, and other similar factors of primitive integration are not

Ideas, vol. I, chap. XXIII, XXIV, and *passim*; — *Deniker*, *Races et peuples de la Terre*, p. 147; — *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. IV, p. 39; — *Brinton*, *The Basis of Social Relations*, pp. 30 sq., 41, 147; — *Giddings*, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 71 sq., 114, 262 sq.; — *McGee*, *The Beginnings of Agriculture*, pp. 364, 375; — *Idem*, *The Beginnings of Zooculture*, p. 227 sq.; — *Idem*, *The Relation of Institutions*, p. 706, *passim*; — *Wallas*, *Human Nature in Politics*, p. 30.

in general merely products of co-operation in warfare.) Thus blood-revenge, perhaps the earliest and most common cause and form of savage warfare, is due to an obligation felt towards an offended relative or friend, and when private individuals initiate war expeditions they make appeals to the members of their own communities. Similarly, we noticed above ¹ that among many primitive peoples it is customary not to wage war on communities which are akin, have the same totem, worship common gods, or have other similar bonds of consolidation. Thus there is no lack of instances to show that among savages »the force of racial and linguistic unity shows itself even outside the social or political unit«. ²

On the other hand, again, where these factors of peaceful integration have not been strong enough to prevent warfare between the minor groups of some larger unity, there, as a rule, no further consolidation has been called forth. According to Mooney, one of the main causes of the destruction of the Cherokee was internal wars, which prevented the various communities of the nation from uniting against the common foe, the League of the Iroquois. ³ The disaster was the more natural and the demonstrative value of the occurrence the more obvious, as we are expressly told of this famous league that it was established in order to abolish war between the tribes composing their nation, and therefore not merely to consolidate their power against external enemies, but also to strengthen its general bonds of internal union. ⁴ Of an Indian tribe living on the south coast of Lake Superior, Jones states that a quarrel between members of two families ended in a murder. Subsequently »the friends of the murdered killed the murderer, and so they continued to kill one family after another till the whole tribe

¹ See *supra*, p. 42 sqq.

² *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 170.

³ *Mooney*, *Myths of the Cherokee*; in 19:th Ann. Report. Bur. Ethnol. p. 15.

⁴ *Morgan*, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 60 sq.

were nearly destroyed». ¹ Similarly, owing to an instance of blood-revenge, when »fathers fought sons, and brothers contended with brothers», once an Omaha community was scattered. ² No greater coherence has been established among the various sub-divisions of the Jeveros ³ and Zapparos, ⁴ two large Indian tribes in the Valley of the Amazons, as these minor groups »are constantly at war with each other». On the other hand, bonds of marriage united the various tribes of the Uaupés, preventing them from waging war against each other. ⁵ Speaking of the Dinka, Schweinfurth ⁶ states that as regards numbers, mode of life and customs, »they have all the material for national unity but where they fail is that their tribes not only make war upon each other, but submit to be enlisted as the instruments of treachery by intruders from outside». Similar facts have been observed among other native peoples in Africa also, where integration has been rendered impossible by wars between various groups of the same people. ⁷

These instances show that if the bonds of consanguinity, common worship, and other peaceful ties have not been strong enough to prevent groups from waging war upon each other, a further union has often been rendered impossible. Thus, not the occurrence of wars, but the absence of them, has been the main condition for a more advanced social integration between neighbouring communities which have reached a somewhat higher level of social development; and the same thing must be true at lower levels of culture.

¹ Jones, *The Ojebway Indians*, p. 110.

² Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Report. Bur. Ethnol. p. 86.

³ Markham, *The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons*; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1910, p. 104.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 134.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 130.

⁶ Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. I, p. 167.

⁷ Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, p. 91; — Kidd, *Kafir Socialism*, pp. 38, 46.

Steinmetz ¹ is partly aware of this when he asserts that blood-revenge carried on within a tribe must necessarily have prevented integration. But why should the debarring influence of wars be restricted so as to have reference to blood-revenge only? As a matter of fact, whatever may have been the character of warlike activity within a larger unit, it must have counteracted the process of natural cohesion. It is also noteworthy that in all the instances quoted by Spencer as examples of integration brought about through wars, we meet with primary bonds of common descent or other ties of a peaceful character. ² And when he lays down the rule that »it is only when joint action in war has become habitual that the cohesion is made permanent by a common political organization«, ³ even this simply means that no lasting integration is possible as long as internal wars take place. Moreover, owing to his militant conception of savage conditions, he lays undue stress upon the »compulsory co-operation« in war, and fails to see the primary importance of all the peaceful ties which must call forth the cessation of internal ruptures before wars against external enemies can bring about any consolidating results.

Among peoples who have already reached a comparatively high stage of civilization, a comparison between the peaceful factors of integration and that arising from war, leads to the same result. The ancient Greek city-states were constantly waging war upon each other, so that the only ties which kept them united were, as Herodotus puts it, »our common lan-

¹ »Nicht nur war die Blutrache verderblich wenn bei der Auflösung der grösseren geschlechtsgenossenschaftlichen Verbände die einzelnen Familien und Geschlechter sie übernahmen, sondern sie war es schon auch im Anfange, da die festere Stammesorganisation sich noch nicht entwickelt hatte, und deshalb die Geschlechter die Blutrache betrieben.« — *Steinmetz*, *Ethnologische Studien*, vol. I, p. 391; vol. II, p. 130 sq. — See also *Idem*, *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 42.

² *Spencer*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, part V., chap. 3 and passim.

³ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 279.

guage, the altars and the sacrifices of which we all partake». ¹ Mommsen, and many other authors, ² lay special stress on the part played by religion. Greece »owed to its religion«, he says, »not merely its whole intellectual development, but also its national union so far as such an union was attained at all». ³ As for the part of war, Fustel de Coulanges maintains that wars could not have brought about a further political integration. ⁴ Gomperz again, although he could not rid himself of a »sneaking doubt whether a Hellas blessed with a perpetual peace, united in a confederacy or possibly a single State, would ever have achieved so much in art and science as did that divided Hellas whose powers were traced«, readily admits that these powers »were at the same time all too soon exhausted by the incessant competition of war«. Accordingly, referring to the common race, religion, and games, he concludes that what these factors of national unity really effected was a »toning down of the extreme brutalities of warfare«. ⁵ Grote points out that the incoherence of the Greek States was first and above all due to the — from this point of view — unfavourable geographical conditions, secondly to the political ideas of their thinkers, and lastly to the incapacity for political coalescence ⁶ which »did not preclude a powerful and extensive sympathy between the inhabitants of all the separate cities«. Moreover, this sympathy implied a »constant tendency to fraternise for numerous purposes, social,

¹ *Herodotus*, History, VIII, 144.

² *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, pp. 23 sq., 163—180, 430 sq., 511. — *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, pp. 668—740; — as for religious unions only, see p. 740 sqq.; — *Risley*, Law of War, p. 12; — *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, p. 260; — *Gomperz*, Greek Thinkers, vol. II, p. 22; — *Curtius*, Griechische Geschichte, vol. I, pp. 434—520; cf. p. 52 sqq.

³ *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 227.

⁴ *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 259; — See also *Novicow*, La critique du darwinisme social, p. 297.

⁵ *Gomperz*, Greek Thinkers, vol. II, p. 22.

⁶ *E. g. Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, V, 77.

religious, recreative, intellectual, and aesthetical». ¹ From this it appears that the integration of the ancient Greek States was mainly due to common descent, common religion, and common peaceful interests, while any further political organization was counteracted not by any lack of warlike activity, but by geographic conditions and the political ideas of the people themselves. Speaking of these political ideas, Mommsen asserts that the most peculiar and best feature in the character of the Greek people »rendered it impossible for them to advance from national to political unity without at the same time exchanging their polity for despotism». ² As for the early Romans, their early integration was founded on blood-relationship, common religion, and subjection to a strong *patria potestas*. They learned to obey their fathers, and this, as Mommsen puts it, that they »may know how to obey the State». ³ It was owing to these fundamental factors that the success of Roman policy was secured, and not *vice versa*: it was not wars that brought about common descent, worship, and a strong paternal authority. ⁴

¹ Grote, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 162 sq.

² Mommsen, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 36.

³ Op. cit. p. 37.

⁴ Speaking of the early Latin League Mommsen affirms: — »The feeling of fellowship based on community of descent and of language, not only pervaded the whole of them, but manifested itself in an important religious and political institution — the perpetual League of the collective Latin cantons». Op. cit. vol. I, p. 49. — »We must now be content to realize the one great abiding fact that they possessed a common centre, to which they did not sacrifice their individual independence, but by means of which they cherished and increased the feeling of their belonging collectively to the same nation. By such a common possession the way was prepared for their advance from that cantonal individuality, with which the history of every people necessarily begins, to the national union with which the history of every people ends or at any rate ought to end.» Op. cit. p. 52. — Cf. also *Fustel de Coulanges*, *La cité antique*, pp. 66, 119, 268, passim; — *Hearn*, *The Aryan Household*, p. 260. — Cf. *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 378 sq., on early wars between the various clans.

Even the authors who lay most stress on the extremely warlike character of the early Germans cannot deny the primary importance of peaceful factors in their primitive integration. Thus, with reference to the ties of blood-relationship, Dahn points out that it brought about the union of Suevians,¹ Alemans,² Franks, Frisians, Saxonians,³ Goths⁴ and the other German peoples.⁵

Closely connected with consanguinity was common worship.⁶ In fact, there can be no better testimony to the consolidating value of these factors than the survival of clan ties till comparatively recent times. Thus, clans continued to exist among the Goths after the conquest of Italy.⁷ Among the Franks the clan bonds were so strong as late as the time of the Carolingians that the authorities repeatedly had to enforce the supremacy of the State over the interests of the clans;⁸ this was

¹ *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 3 sqq. Common worship, administration of justice, and common descent united them into one people, p. 6 sq.

² *Op. cit.* vol. VII, part I, p. 9. Integration was caused by »1:o nähere Verwandtschaft und Annahme gemeinsamer Abstammung von göttlichen Ahnen; 2:o Nachbarschaft«. — *Op. cit.* vol. IX, part. I, p. 2 sq.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. VII, p. 9.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vol. III, p. 4 sq.; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 251 sq.

⁵ *Dahn*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 4 sqq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 13 sqq., *passim*.

See for further particulars, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 9; cf. p. 11. — Of the Suevians he maintains: — »Blutverwandschaft, nicht Nachbarschaft ist die älteste Grundlage dieses Verbandes« (= Völker-schaft). — *Op. cit.* vol. VII, part I, p. 4.

⁶ Tacitus points out that the federation of the Suevian communities was based simply on common worship, *i. e.* without any common war leader, — *Germania*, 39.

⁷ *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 251 sq.; — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. III, p. 4 sqq.

⁸ *Dahn*, *Op. cit.* vol. VII, part I, p. 300. »So stark ist immernoch der Sippeverband dass wiederholt gewarnt wird um ihrerwillen die Pflichten gegen den Stat zu verletzen«. *Op. cit.* vol. VIII, part II, p. 236.

the case among the Bavarians also; ¹ while among the Germans inhabiting Ditmarch the clan system was prevalent even in the sixteenth century. ²

Besides consanguinity, economic causes greatly facilitated the further development of early German integration. Thus, according to Dahn, the German tribes became sedentary during the period from 50 B. C. to 100 A. D. ³ Subsequently, the primeval forests, which until then had separated different communities and tribes from each other, gradually disappeared, neighbouring communities came into constant contact with each other, and spontaneous amalgamation took place. ⁴ As soon, however, as the soil could no longer sustain a rapidly increasing population, the epoch of the great migrations began. In fact, Dahn asserts that these were called forth by economic causes only, and not, as many authors assume, ⁵ by any political aims. ⁶

Lamprecht gives, broadly speaking, a similar account. In accordance with his hypothesis of the extremely warlike character of the earliest Germans, he argues that a great change took place during the first three centuries A. D., when they became sedentary. ⁷ These new economic conditions were not

¹ *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. IX, part II, p. 179.

² *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 67.

³ *Dahn*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 289; cf. p. 292 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 402, 415.

⁴ *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 35; vol. VII, part I, p. 18 sqq.; — *Idem*, Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 425 sq.

⁵ *Dahn*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 293; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 415 sqq.

⁶ »Nur solche« (= economic), nicht politische und verfassungsrechtliche Aenderungen sind es, welche in letzter Instanz die grossartige Erscheinung erklären die wir mit vielmissbrauchtem Namen Völkerwanderung nennen.» — Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, p. 416 sq.

⁷ »Das kameradschaftlich-kriegerische Element der Frühzeit trat zurück, in den Vordergrund schob sich der wirtschaftliche Verband der Genossen.» — Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 273.

merely most favourable for a further integration which led to the tribal organization ¹, but the new occupation of the people even directly checked warlike enterprises. ² Hence, summing up, Lamprecht asserts that the tribal organization was brought about much more through the new modes of economic life among the peoples themselves, than through the wars waged between them and the Romans. ³ Thus the conclusion holds good of the early Germans also, that only a secondary importance can be ascribed to the consolidating value of wars. Co-operation in war took place because of common descent, local proximity, common worship and the like. ⁴ And when their political conditions changed again and they became subjects of feudal States, the bonds of common descent as well as economic causes still made their influence felt in a degree too little noticed by many admirers of the alleged constructive value of war and of war only. ⁵

The history of the early Gauls also provides an instructive instance. Mommsen remarks that the military alliances between their various communities were of the loosest kind; the rivalry for the hegemony made a breach in every league. Internal ruptures of this character thus directly counteracted any final political organization. »The victory of one competitor

¹ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 273 sqq.

² »Jetzt war das Volk sesshaft geworden . . . der Volksfriede auch nach aussen ward zum obersten Zweck und Gut des Staates . . . Der neue Beruf begann immer stärkere Theile der alten kriegerischen Kraft an sich zu ziehen und zu friedlichem Schaffen zu veranlassen» — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 276.

³ »Weit weniger durch den Gegensatz zu Rom, weit mehr durch den Uebergang zur Sesshaftigkeit ist sie »(the formation of the tribes)« geschaffen worden. Sie ist die eigentliche naturwissenschaftliche Staats- und Lebensform unseres Volkes. In den Anfängen eines wahrhaft nationalen Ackerbaus entsteht sie; politisch wichtig, ja ausschlagend bleibt sie bis zum Ausgang der frankischen Kaiser.» — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 277.

⁴ As for the early Scandinavians, see *Strinnholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. II, pp. 24, 36, 44 sqq.

⁵ *Lamprecht*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 148; vol. III, p. 10 sqq.

still left his opponent in possession of political existence, and it always remained open to him, even though he had submitted to clientship, subsequently to renew the struggle». ¹ Hence, instead of politically uniting the entire nation, »the rivalry of the Averni and Haedui, with its repetitions on a smaller and smaller scale, destroyed the Celtic people». ² On the other hand, common descent and common religion called forth all the permanent forms of a larger integration. ³ Amidst the greatest political ruptures, the Gauls were strongly centralised in respect of priestly rule, or, as Mommsen puts it: — »The Gauls were not far removed from an ecclesiastical State with its pope and councils, its immunities, interdicts, and spiritual courts». Nay, the political aims of the Druids went so far that they claimed the right of deciding even on war and peace. ⁴

Among the Celtic clans in Scotland we meet with the same trait as was observed above among the early Germans. Thus, in 1587 an Act was passed »for the quitting and keeping in obedience of the disordered subjects inhabitants of the Borders, Highlands and Isles». To the Act were added two rolls, in one of which it was pointed out that the disobedience of the clans was due to the power of their own chiefs, »on whom they depend oftentimes against the will of their landlords». ⁵ As late as about the year 1730, a close observer of the Highlanders wrote: — »The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most supreme degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government, the laws of the kingdom, or even the law of God». ⁶ And this strong power of the chiefs, moreover, was »not supported by interests»; on the contrary, it was due to them »as lineally descended from the

¹ *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. V, p. 25.

² *Op. cit.* p. 26.

³ *Fustel de Coulanges*, Institutions politiques, p. 7, passim.

⁴ *Mommsen*, *Op. cit.* p. 23 sq.

⁵ *Mitchell*, History of the Highlands, p. 296.

⁶ *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 328; — *Mitchell*, *Op. cit.* p. 297.

old patriarchs or fathers of the families». ¹ On the other hand internal feuds prevented a further integration. Even as late as in 1689, the victories of Montrose proved fruitless when the revolting Highlanders suddenly allowed local jealousies to break up their army. »The Gordons left him», Lord Macaulay writes, »because they fancied that he neglected them for the MacDonalds. The MacDonalds left him because they wanted to plunder the Campbells. The force which had once seemed sufficient to decide the fate of a kingdom melted away in a few days». ² — As for the early Finns, wars waged between their various units not merely prevented the establishment of a further internal unity, but also greatly facilitated the aims of their more powerful neighbours. ³

In so far as our comparison between the consolidating value of wars on the one hand and of consanguinity, local proximity, and common religion and customs on the other hand, has been correct it has proved that among peoples which have advanced to a comparatively high level of civilization the bonds of consanguinity, local proximity and common worship and customs have been the primary factors of integration, and that it is owing to these that warlike co-operation has been rendered possible. This inference corroborates our corresponding conclusion about the lower races: among them also it is as the result of common descent, local proximity, and other similar peaceful factors of primary importance that warlike co-operation has taken place.

Passing over from this comparison to a more detailed inquiry into the consolidating results of war, it is obvious that even in the instances where war has brought about the union of certain groups against a common foe, it does not follow that the consolidation has been lasting. For the sake of argument, let us suppose that there exist seven savage units — *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and

¹ *Mitchell*, Op. cit. p. 297 sq.

² *Macaulay*, History of England, vol. II, p. 338 sq.

³ *Wirkkunen*, Länsisuom. kans. siv.-oloista, in *Oma Maa*, vol. I, p. 120; — *Erich*, Das Staatsrecht des Grossfürstentums Finnland, p. 1.

m, *n*, *p*. To-day the first group wages war upon the second. After some months or years, however, *a*, *b*, and *p* co-operate against *m* and *n*, and in the following years war may take place, not merely between *a+c* and *m*, but *d* and *p* may unite against *b*. Now it is obvious that from the point of view of integration such occasional combinations are almost valueless. Pritchard says of the Samoans that »the ties which in war unite rival chieftains of any given district are but slight, and the motives that incite to defection are equally so». ¹ Speaking of the Mafulu mountain people in New Guinea, Mr. Williamson remarks that »sometimes two communities join together in opposition to a third one, but alliances of this sort are usually only of a temporary character». ² This is the more obvious as the same author points out in another connection that even in those instances where one or several Mafulu communities together were the object of an attack from the quite foreign peoples of Ambo or Kuni, »there would apparently be no thought of other Mafulu speaking communities, as such, coming to assist in repelling the attack». ³ Of equally slight nature are the war alliances among the Jeveros ⁴ and Zapparos, ⁵ two great and warlike tribes of the valley of the Amazon. No permanent integration has resulted from the occasional co-operation of their sub-divisions against common enemies. The history of ancient Greece provides many similar instances showing how the allies of to-day were the foes of to-morrow. Thus during the Peloponnesian War the Athenians were compelled to make peace with Sparta in order to prevent their allies from deserting and uniting with their foes. ⁶

¹ *Pritchard*, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 59.

² *Williamson*, *The Mafulu Mountain People*, p. 180.

³ *Williamson*, *Op. cit.* p. 82; cf. p. 84. Similar particulars are given by Dr. Nordenskjöld with regard to the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians of South America. — *Indianlif*, p. 35.

⁴ *Markham*, *The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1910, p. 104.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 134.

⁶ *Thucydides*, *History of Peloponnesian War*, V, 44.

The undue stress laid on the consolidating value of warfare is shown also by the fact that even when a more or less lasting cohesion has resulted from successful wars, it has not necessarily led to real integration. According to Turner,¹ wars brought about no lasting integration among the natives in Samoa because subjugated groups soon regained strength enough to become independent anew. In his description of the kingdom of Ashantee, Beecham² observes that it was »not so much one state placed immediately under one government, as an assemblage of states owing a kind of feudal obedience to the sovereign of Ashantee». With reference to the native empires in Africa in general, Casalis calls attention to another form of decentralization. As soon as a powerful ruler has brought under his sway a number of neighbouring communities, his sons and heirs hasten to divide the empire and become independent chiefs,³ or the conquering State breaks down soon from other more or less similar causes.⁴ In his description of the conquering States in Africa, as well as those of the Incas and the ancient Mexicans, Ratzel⁵ remarks that there is hardly any reason to attribute to them such names as empires. They are deficient in any firmly-established internal organization, and the bonds resulting merely from conquest are loose.

Passing to still larger and better known empires, we meet with similar facts. Of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, and Persian empires, Sir Henry Maine points out that »they were in the main tax-taking empires . . . the monarchs at their head were constantly dethroning petty kings and even transplanting whole communities. But amid all this, it is clear that in the main they interfered but little with the everyday religious or

¹ *Turner*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 290 sq.

² *Beecham*, *Ashantee*, pp. 86, 89 sq.

³ *Casalis*, *The Basutos*, p. 212.

⁴ *Baumann*, *Durch Massailand*, p. 236 sq.

⁵ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 130; cf. pp. 625, 627.

civil life of the groups to which their subjects belonged. ¹ Athens, he remarks, belonged to the same class of sovereignties. »The dominion of Athens over her subject cities and islands was clearly a tax-taking as distinguished from a legislating empire». ² So also the empires of Attila and Tamerlane »were not more organic than a number of wool bales under a hydraulic press or a mob of cattle under the charge of a drover». ³ From the earliest ages until the British conquest, India was under the rule of comparatively powerful kings. Yet although they waged wars upon each other by means of armies for which young men were carried off from the village communities, they neither legislated nor established a centralized government, says Sir Henry Maine. »The village communities were left to modify themselves separately in their own way». ⁴ The history of England provides another instructive instance. Speaking of the transient results of the wars carried on in England during the sixth and seventh centuries, Professor Oman asserts: — »The king of the vanquished tribe might for the nonce own himself his conqueror's man and contract to pay him tribute, but there was nothing to prevent him from rebelling the moment that he felt strong enough. To make the conquest permanent, one of two things was needed — colonization of the district that had been subdued, or the establishment of garrisons in fortified places within it. But the English were never wont to colonize the lands of their own kinsmen, though they would settle readily enough on Welsh soil. — When the conqueror died, his empire died with him, and each subject state resumed its autonomy». ⁵

¹ *Maine*, *The Early History of Institutions*, p. 384. — Ratzel points out the same fact of Abyssinia, too. — *Völkerkunde*, vol. II. p. 455.

² *Op. cit.* p. 385.

³ *Hearn*, *Aryan Household*, p. 268.

⁴ *Maine*, *Village Community*, p. 159 sq. See also *Lyall*, *Formation of Clans*; in *Fortnightly Review*, XXI, p. 117.

⁵ *Oman*, *History of the Art of War*, p. 71. — Not very different was the case of the empire of Charlemagne. — *Nitzsch*, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, vol. I, p. 246.

In short, even in many cases where wars have united different groups of people, the union has been loose and superficial. Ratzel justly describes that sort of military conquest in the words: — It is the multiplication of the cell to a cell-mass, instead of its growth into an organism. ¹ And even Gumpowicz admits that mere conquest does not bring about any lasting consolidation until all the peaceful ties of internal union have called forth a strong social consolidation. ² In one special sense only do these particular instances indicate positive integration, viz. territorial occupation. As was observed above, however, it is only among more advanced peoples that wars are waged with such an object in view, whereas the wars of more primitive communities are mainly carried on as acts of revenge, or they aim at some other ends, but not essentially at a permanent occupation of lands and subjection of peoples. It is therefore not wholly in agreement with the facts to argue that primitive warfare would bring about integration even in this respect. If, as we have just seen, more advanced peoples have failed in these efforts, lacking as their »empires» have been in internal strength and the fusion of the various elements, there is no reason whatever to ascribe greater results to wars fought between quite primitive communities. On the contrary, it is just because the more primitive savages as a rule do not carry on wars of conquest, that their warfare often brings about, instead of integration, dissolution of the units existing among them. Thus of the Hawaii and the Sandwich Islands, Ellis ³ states that wars among those natives did not result in any effective establishment of political organizations, rather the reverse. So also, speaking of the Melanesian peoples, Meinicke ⁴ asserts that wars have caused among them more disunion than real integration. Of the wars waged between the natives in East Africa, Falkenhorst

¹ *Völkerkunde*, vol. 1, p. 130.

² *Gumpowicz*, *Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, p. 416.

³ *Ellis*, *Hawaii*, p. 116.

⁴ *Meinicke*, *Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans*, vol. 1, p. 68.

points out that far from causing »the foundation of States» they resulted in the destruction even of the existing forms of social integration through natural growth on the basis of consanguineal bonds.¹ Contrary to the theory that common danger unites the members of the same community, we read of the Abipones that, as soon as communities were informed of an approaching enemy, many families fled to other caciques or chiefs in order to escape the danger.² Speaking of the North American Indians in general, Hunter observes that wars among them, unlike those between civilized nations, simply prevented the consolidation of neighbouring units. The vanquished, in order to avert entire destruction, »are obliged to flee from their possessions, and are frequently dispersed into different tribes or bands, which being prevented from reuniting by the interposition of their enemies, connect themselves with other nations or seek safe retreats and maintain their independence».³ The same fact is observed by another author also, Lewis Morgan⁴, and Mr. Mooney⁵ remarks that not until different clans or tribes were almost entirely destroyed by wars did the remnants unite in order to escape complete extermination.

In fact, if the great number of writers who stress the consolidating value of primitive warfare would pay proper attention also to all those numerous instances where warfare has thus directly resulted in the more or less complete destruction, or in the breaking up of existing primitive units, they would be

¹ »Von Staatengründungen finden wir hier keine Spur, aber selbst die Gesamtheit der sesshaften Stämme erlangt keine Bedeutung; der ewige Krieg hat dieselben aufgerieben und erst eine längere Friedensepoche wird den am besten beanlagten und unternehmendsten Völkern die Möglichkeit einer neuen politischen Entwicklung gewähren». — Schwarze Fürsten, vol. II, p. 65, passim.

² *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 105 sq.

³ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 189 sq.

⁴ *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 57.

⁵ *Mooney*, The Siouan Tribes, p. 8 sq., passim; — *Idem*, Myths of the Cherokee; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 15.

more cautious of constructing such ingenious systems of primitive integration on the basis of savage warfare. They would admit, more than they now do, that statements such as the following one made by Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche in speaking of Omaha integration are true of many other primitive communities. Pointing out »the disintegrating tendencies of aggressive warfare», these authors observe: — »The old Omaha men have earnestly sought to impress upon the writers, that peace and order within the tribe were of prime importance; without these it was declared neither the people nor the tribe as an organization could exist. War was secondary; its true function was protective — to guard the people from outside enemies». ¹ Moreover this »peace and order» was based on bonds of common descent, common religion, and on all the various forms of peaceful mutual aid, as well as on the rule of a peace chieftainship and not on that of the ablest war leader. And how could it indeed be otherwise? Unorganized skirmishes taking place occasionally, or small private war expeditions — how could they bring about greater consolidation than ties of common descent, worship, and all the various forms of peaceful co-operation acting continuously and fostering an increasing sense of sociability?

Moreover, besides these factors of primitive integration, all of which depend on man himself, there is still a paramount factor more or less ignored by the writers to whom savage conditions appear above all in the light of incessant warfare and bloodshed. It is the nature and the possibility of obtaining sufficient quantities of food. Speaking of the Omaha, Kansas, Ponka, and Osage, and the efforts of these Indians of North America to maintain their tribal unities, Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that the environment of these tribes did not foster sedentary habits »such as would have tended toward a close political union; therefore the nature of the country in

¹ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 402; cf. p. 200 sq.

which these cognates dwelt added to rather than lessened the danger of disintegration». ¹ Similarly Scouler observes that the slow progress of amalgamation among the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains was chiefly due to economic conditions. »The necessity of preserving the full extent of their hunting ground caused repulsion, not union». ² Economic causes have likewise made their influence felt in the process of integration among other savage communities. Where such conditions have not been favourable, no wars nor destruction of human lives could ever have procured food supplies required to sustain larger units. The only actions which in such circumstances would tend to preserve the race must have sprung from within the groups, they must have taken the form of a peaceful co-operation for mutual benefit in a struggle against nature, far more than that of fighting against human foes. Thus even from this point of view, the attributing of a primary value to war as a cause of the social integration of rude savages must be considered not to correspond with the facts.

Our inquiry into primitive integration has thus resulted in views opposed to those held by authors who believe wars to have been the origin of primitive social integration. In one point only are these two opposing theories in full agreement: primitive integration has been called forth by the necessity for the preservation and further development of the human race. But while the authors who support the warlike view argue that this preservation could be achieved only by means of co-operation against external enemies, our inference has been the opposite. Firstly, there is no evidence to the effect that primitive conditions in general are, or ever have been, so warlike as has often been assumed. Secondly, there is every reason to believe that the extension of the primitive family bonds has been due not only to economic conditions but also to altruistic sentiments

¹ *Fletcher and La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 198.

² *Scouler*, Indian Tribes, N-W. Coast of America; in *Journ. Ethnol. Soc.* vol. I, p. 229.

which led to the formation of larger social units by means of natural growth and cohesion as well as through adhesion. Within these communities a multitude of new ties were established through marriage, common religion and customs, and so on. Moreover, as in virtue of these more or less permanent bonds of union the members of each community are accustomed to various forms of mutual aid and permanent peaceful co-operation, so also occasional warlike co-operation for defence or offence was rendered possible. In short, the authors supporting the warlike theory of the origin of the State have made what is a mere secondary effect into a primary cause. That this has been their procedure will be still more obvious when we investigate in the following chapters the origin and primitive development of savage government.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

Causes which originated social integration have at the same time originated authority and government. «Among lower races», says Westermarck, «every family has its head, who exercises more or less authority over its members. In some instances, where the maternal system of descent prevails, a man's children are in the power of the head of their mother's family or of their maternal uncle; but this is by no means the rule even among people who reckon their kinship through females only». ¹ Similarly Frazer observes that «mother right does not imply mother rule, rather the contrary». ² In his description of the subjection of children Westermarck fully illustrates the rôle of paternal authority among savages. ³ Moreover this authority of the head of the family is as a rule extended so as to cover the wife or wives also. ⁴

In close connection with the paternal authority is that of old age in general. Speaking of the Veddas, Dr. Seligmann

¹ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, p. 597 sq.; — *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 15, 19, 40 sq.

² *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. II, p. 132. — See also *Grosse*, *Die Formen der Familie*, pp. 62 sq., 75.

³ *Westermarck*, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 41, 542, chap. X; — *Idem*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, chap. XXV.

⁴ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, chap. XXVI.

observes that terms of respect were used in addressing the aged; thus »although *siya* or *mutta* really mean father or grandfather, these words might be used as terms of addressing any old man». Similarly any old woman might be called *kiriamma* (grandmother) or *atta*.¹ Of the natives of Torres Straits we read that great deference is shown to the old men, whose opinion or decision is generally accepted »immediately and without question».² Among the Kurnai »age was held in reverence and a man's authority increased with years».³ This is the case among other Australian aborigines also.⁴ Among the natives of New Guinea considerable respect is shown to the aged.⁵ Regard for old people is found also among the natives of Tonga,⁶ Formosa,⁷ the Ainu,⁸ the Bataks⁹ of Sumatra, the aborigines of Bengal,¹⁰

¹ *Seligmann*, The Veddas, p. 70.

² Reports of the Cambridge Exp. to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 263 sq.

³ *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of S.-E. Australia, p. 317.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 301 sqq., 307, 320 sqq.; — *Wyatt*, Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes; in *Woods*, Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 168; — *Schürmann*, Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 226; — *Gason*, Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 263; — *Spencer and Gillen*, Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 20 sq.; — *Idem*, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 10; — *Idem*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 262 sq.; — *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 943.

⁵ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 134, 457; — *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 317, 329, 421.

⁶ »Wiewohl auch bey disen Leute keine höher ist als der andere, ja auch in ihrer Sprache es keine Namen gibt dardurch Herr oder Knechte kondte auss gedruckt werden, so thun sie doch auff ihre Weise einander grosse Ehrbietung an, und dass nicht in Ansehen einiger Würde, Stand oder Reichtumb, sondern nur des Alters . . .» — *Hulsius*, Eine Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan, p. 40.

⁷ *Pilsudski*, Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu; in *Globus*, 1909, vol. XCV, p. 72.

⁸ *Burton and Ward*, Journey into the Batak Country; in *Trans. Asiatic Soc.* vol. I, p. 513.

⁹ *Lewin*, Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 102; — *Hodson*, The »Genna» among the Tribes of Assam; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 101.

¹⁰ *Erskine*, Islands of the Western Pacific, p. 233; — *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 155.

and among many if not most of the native communities in Africa.¹ Similarly, the Eskimo² and the North American Indians are stated to have had a great deference for the aged.³ This is the more remarkable as children among the latter peoples are not trained to obedience.⁴ Of the Zapotecs in Southern Mexico, Bancroft states that »in a village not distant from the city of Zayaca, whenever an aged man, the son of one of their ancient lords, was seen by the natives out walking . . . they uncovered their heads, kissed his hands . . . with much tenderness calling him *daade* (father) and remaining uncovered until he was lost to sight». ⁵ Great respect is likewise shown to old women among the Mexican Indians.⁶ The Patagonians pay »respect to old people»,⁷ and among the Fuegians »in each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority.⁸ Similar customs were prevalent among other natives of South America.⁹

¹ *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, pp. 474 sq., 477 sq.; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 186; — *O'Sullivan*, Dinka Laws and Customs; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1910, pp. 171, 177; — *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 188; — *Kingsley*, Travels in West Africa, p. 460; — *Lichtenstein*, Travels in Southern Africa, vol. I, p. 265.

² *Nelson*, Eskimo about Bering Strait; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 304; — *Murdoch*, Point Barrow Expedition; in 9:th Ann. Rept. p. 427.

³ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 281; — *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. II, pp. 103 sqq., 130 sqq.; — *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of North America, p. 243; — *Jones*, The Ojebway Indians, p. 68. — *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 325 sq., 335. — Cf. also *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 294; — *Lönborg*, Klan och Klanhöfding; in Ymer, 1909, p. 401.

⁴ *Hennepin*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 129; — *Jones*, Op. cit. p. 68.

⁵ *Bancroft*, The Native Races of Pacific States, vol. I, p. 665.

⁶ *Heller*, Reisen in Mexico, p. 66.

⁷ *King* and *Fitzroy*, Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle», vol. II, p. 172.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 179.

⁹ *d'Orbigny*, L'Homme Americain, vol. I, pp. 370, 373, 378; vol. II, pp. 222, 317 sq., 340; — *Nordenskjöld*, Indianlif, pp. 31, 58 sq., passim.

But the authority of old people is not confined merely to living individuals; they are obeyed and feared after their death also. Even then they »demand obedience and are anxious that the rules they laid down while alive should be followed by the survivors». ¹ Moreover, they are conceived »as capable of acting upon the living, of conferring upon them benefits, or at all events of inflicting upon them harm». ² In the first case they become guardians of their descendants. ³ As each Vedda community, ⁴ Dr. Seligmann writes, consists of a small number of families, who are usually related both by blood and marriage, the *yaku* ⁵ of the recent dead, called collectively *Nae Yaku*, are supposed to stand towards the surviving members of the group »in the light of friends and relatives, who, if well treated, will continue to show lovingkindness to their survivors, and only if neglected will show disgust and anger by withdrawing their assistance, or becoming even actively hostile». But only important men, and those who during life had the power of calling and becoming possessed by the *yaku*, became *yaku* after death. ⁶ If the survivors were doubtful about the lot of one newly dead, they prayed for his assistance when setting out hunting, and if much game was killed, the deceased was considered to have become a *yaku* »ready and willing to help his friends and relatives». ⁷ Through the *dugganawa* ⁸ the *yaku* declares if he approves the offerings presented to him, promises to assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often states the direction in which the next hunting party should go. ⁹ Similarly the natives of New

¹ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 519.

² *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 528 sq.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 529.

⁴ *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, p. 127.

⁵ *Yaku* means the spirit of a deceased person. — *Op. cit.* p. 125.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 127.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Dugganawa* or shaman. — *Op. cit.* p. 128.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 128;—see also pp. 141 sqq., 162 sqq., 202 sqq., and chapters VII and VIII in general.

Guinea frequently ask the advice of their ancestors in hunting, fishing, wars, and in every other important matter.¹ Of the Solomon Islanders, Codrington observes that »a man in danger may call upon his father, his grandfather, or his uncle; his nearness of kin is sufficient ground for it». ² As for the Fijians, they believe that as a father has taken care of his family when alive, so also he continues to keep watch over the welfare of the survivors. ³ Similar views prevailed *e. g.* among the natives of the New Hebrides ⁴ and the Maori. ⁵ The Irayos in the Philippines considered the crops to belong to the *Anitos*, or the souls of their ancestors. ⁶ The belief prevailed among the Kafirs that everything that happened to them was sent by their ancestors; hence »the memory of an old man's personality would pervade all associations of the kraal in which he lived; . . . they would consider», Mr. Kidd affirms, »that he sent the fine weather or the good crops». ⁷ This is the case also with the Basutos, ⁸ the Bawenda, ⁹ the natives inhabiting the region of the Zambesi ¹⁰ as well as those of the Oil River. ¹¹ The Mordvins ¹² ask the dead ancestors to give them »a long life, to increase their prosperity, to give a good harvest, increase of cattle, etc». ¹³

¹ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, p. 403.

² *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 125; cf. p. 145 sqq.

³ *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 57 sq; — *Seeman*, Fiji and its Inhabitants, p. 271.

⁴ *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88.

⁵ *Shortland*, Traditions and Superstitions of the Maori, p. 210.

⁶ *Semper*, Die Philippen, p. 56.

⁷ *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 79; cf. p. 80.

⁸ *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 248.

⁹ *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, p. 1905, p. 380.

¹⁰ Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, pp. 103, 109.

¹¹ *Kingsley*, West African Studies, pp. 112 sq., 147 sq.,

¹² *Abercromby*, Pre- and Proto-historic Finns, vol. I, p. 178.

¹³ As for the Votiaks, see *Vichmann*, Tietoja votjaakkien mytologiasta; in Suomi, ser. III, vol. VI, pp. 16, 29, 45.

Of the Finns proper Waronen¹ remarks that according to their earlier beliefs the dead relatives were looked upon in some cases as protectors of their former homes; and the same holds good of the early Aryans.²

According to Westermarck, however, »the dead are more commonly regarded as enemies than friends».³ The malevolence of the dead is thus not restricted to strangers only.⁴ In fact, speaking generally, whether survivors have paid reverence to dead kindred because of their supposed benevolence or out of dread of their anger, or on both grounds, as the case of the Veddas proves, or whether for other reasons, there are abundant instances of a reverent and obedient attitude of the living toward their dead, not merely among savages of a lower type, but also among peoples who have a comparatively high degree of civilization. Thus in addition to the instances referred to above, such a relation is observed to prevail or to have prevailed also in Samoa,⁵ Tahiti,⁶ the New Hebrides,⁷ New Caledonia,⁸ and in many other native groups in Polynesia and Melanesia,⁹

¹ *Waronen*, *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla*, pp. 97, 123, passim; — *Abercromby*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 156 sq.

² *Hearn*, *The Aryan Household*, pp. 39, 41, 47, passim.

³ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 532; — *Karsten*, *Origin of Worship*, p. 115 sq.; — *Brinton*, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 71; — *Tylor*, *Primitive Culture*, p. 111 sq.

⁴ See *e. g.* *Ellis*, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. I, p. 334 sq.; — *Thomson*, *Savage Islands*, p. 94; — *Taylor*, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 18; — *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, p. 127; — *Boas*, *The Central Eskimo*; in 6:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 591; — *Lumholtz*, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. I, p. 380 sq.; — *Casalis*, *The Basutos*, p. 249; — *Waronen*, *Op. cit.* p. 16 sqq., passim; — *Wichmann*, *Op. cit.* p. 45; — *Landtman*, *Origin of Priesthood*, p. 50.

⁵ *Turner*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp. 239, 336; — *Idem*, *Samoa*, p. 306; — *Featherman*, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, vol. II, p. 158.

⁶ *Ellis*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 208.

⁷ *Turner*, *Samoa*, pp. 318 sq., 326, 334; — *Idem*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 88.

⁸ *Featherman*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 91.

⁹ *Meinicke*, *Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans*, vol. I, p. 243; vol. II, pp. 116, 375, passim.

among the Ainu in Sakhalin,¹ and the Manobo² of the Philippines, the Toradja³ in Celebes, the Battaks⁴ in Sumatra, as well as among the natives of Bengal.⁵ The ancient Chinese rulers on going forth regularly announced the fact in the temple of their ancestors. On their return they likewise proceeded to the temple in order to give information. »For as filial children they could not bear to consider their parents as dead; wherefore they informed them of their departure and presented themselves to them on their return.»⁶ Nay, even at the present day, ancestor-worship is one of the corner-stones of the Chinese social and political life.⁷ This is true of Japan also.⁸ — According to Dr. Dorsey, the Indians of North America have no forms of ancestor-worship.⁹ Yet this does not exclude regard for the dead. Speaking of the installation of a Ponka chief, Dorsey himself says that the chief was told as follows: — »Your father was a chief, your elder brother was a chief, and your grandfather was a chief. May they continue to look directly down on you.»¹⁰ To his account of a direct relationship between dead ancestors

¹ *Pilsudski*, Op. cit. in *Globus*, 1909, vol. XCV, p. 72.

² *Semper*, Op. cit. p. 61.

³ *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. II, pp. 123, 130.

⁴ *Burton and Ward*, Op. cit.; in *Trans. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. I, p. 502.

⁵ *Barbe*, Hill Tribes of Chittagong; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. XIV, part I, p. 383; — *Hodgson*, The Kooch, Bodo and Dhimal; in Op. cit. vol. XVIII, part II, p. 727; — *Hodson*, The »Genna»; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 101; — *Lewin*, Chittagong, pp. 69, 98, 114; — *Shakespeare*, Kuki-Lushai Clans; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, p. 376.

⁶ *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 23; — *Chavannes*, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. IV, pp. 21, 27, 193, 470; vol. V., pp. 87, 239-390 sq., 406.

⁷ *Milne*, La vie réelle en Chine, p. 208 sqq.; — *Smith*, Chinese Characteristics, pp. 172, 184 sq.; — *Parker*, China, p. 274 sq.

⁸ *Murray*, Japan, passim; — *Conybeare*, Ancestor-Worship; in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. I, p. 945.

⁹ *Dorsey*, Study of Siouan Cults; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 371.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 421.

and their survivors, other instances more or less to the same effect can be added.¹ And if we take other peoples, we meet with the same custom. This holds good of the natives of Africa² as well as of the primitive Aryan peoples.³

As for the duty of carrying out the ceremonies bound up with the relation between the living and the dead, they devolve upon the heads of the families, or upon the heads of larger units of kindred. In Samoa the father of the family was the high priest. The natives of New Caledonia »have no professional priests; the chief of the village or the oldest man of the family performs all ceremonial acts, and addresses the invocations to the spirits of the dead». ⁴ Among the Ainu in Sakhalin, old men make all the offerings to departed ancestors.⁵ On the heads of the family devolved the duties towards the ancestral spirits, says Ellis, of the natives of Madagascar.⁶ Similarly, Miss Kingsley states of the Negroes in the Calabar and Mpongwe districts that »the father of the house is the true priest of the family». ⁷ The oldest man who is »directly descended from the ancestor of

¹ *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. LVII; — *Yarrow*, The Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians; in 1:st Ann. Rept. p. 98 sq.; — *McGee*, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. p. 178; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. II, p. 800 sq.; — *Fewkes*, Tusauan Ceremonies; in 19:th Ann. Rept. pp. 965, 1006.

² *Cole*, The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1902, p. 334; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, pp. 555, 587, 677; — *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 605; — *Kingsley*, West African Studies, pp. 131 sq., 147 sq., 160, 170; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 297 sq., passim; — *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, pp. 362, 364, 397.

³ *Hearn*, The Aryan Household, pp. 118, 122, 126 passim; — *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, pp. 18, 35, 102, 107, 177 sq., passim; — *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 432.

⁴ *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 91.

⁵ *Pilsudski*, Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu; in Globus, vol. XCV, 1909, p. 72.

⁶ *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, pp. 362, 397.

⁷ West African Studies, p. 160. — As for Ashantee, see *Beecham*, Ashantee, p. 194.

the clan» performed the offerings among the Votiaks,¹ and a similar custom prevailed among the early Finns², as well as among the ancient Aryans.³

In short, just as religion has strengthened the ties of integration, so it has brought about submission to the authority of the dead. At the same time it has also strengthened the paternal authority and that of old age in general.⁴ What Pilsudski⁵ says of the Ainu holds certainly good of other primitive peoples also: the best intermediators between the living and the dead are the old people who stand already with one foot in the grave and soon will entirely pass over to the other world where the departed ancestors dwell. Similarly, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen⁶ state of the native of Australia that, as he grows older, he takes an increasing share in matters of a sacred and secret nature, until at last this side of life is occupied far more by these matters than by anything else. »They are all connected with the great ancestor of the tribe, and he is firmly convinced that when it comes to his turn to die his spirit part will finally return to his old *alcheringa* home, where he will be in communion with them . . . » Moreover, old people do not derive their great authority merely from their connection with the spirit world; even their own curses are feared.⁷

¹ *Abercromby*, The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns, vol. I, p. 165; — *Wichmann*, Tietoja votjaakkien mytologiasta, in Suomi, ser. III., vol. VI. pp. 21, 40.

² *Waronen*, Op. cit. p. 47.

³ *Hearn*, Op. cit. p. 126, passim. For further particulars see *c. g.* *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, p. 208; *Marshall*, The Todas, p. 71; — *Barbe*, Hill Tribes of Chittagong; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XIV, part. II, p. 383; — *Hodson*, The Naga Tribes, p. 70; — *Parker*, China, p. 274 sq.

⁴ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. III, p. 53 passim; — *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat, pp. 225, 233.

⁵ *Pilsudski*, Op. cit. p. 72.

⁶ *Spencer and Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 33 sq.

⁷ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 622 sqq.

On the other hand the influence of religion is in this respect not restricted to kinship only. On the contrary, as Dr. Landtman observes, nature-worship cannot have been »ruled by any regard for family ties». ¹ Hence a priesthood which is more or less independent of the regard for the dead must derive its sway over its community from other sources than those derived from kinship. ² Be it, however, as it may with regard to the origins of priesthood, the fact remains that, speaking generally, savage magicians and priests have everywhere a considerable influence, not merely in cases relating to their own profession but also in all important matters of any kind. ³ Speaking of the Indians of British Columbia, Mayne observes that »the most influential men in a tribe are the medicine-men». ⁴ Among the Fuegians great respect is shown to the wizards. ⁵ Similarly of the Veddas we read that among them a shaman exerts a great deal of influence over his neighbours, who all recognize that he is more or less in constant communication with the spirits. ⁶ This is the case with the Australian natives ⁷ and many other primitive peoples. ⁸ Speaking of the Druids of ancient Scotland, Andrew

¹ *Landtman*, *Origin of Priesthood*, p. 53.

² *Op. cit. passim.*

³ *Landtman*, *Op. cit.* p. 18; — See also *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. III, part, VI; — *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. I, p. 563.

⁴ *Mayne*, *Four Years in British Columbia* p. 260; — see also *Sproat*, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 167 sq.; — *Hooper*, *Tuski*, pp. 317, 320.

⁵ *Snow*, *Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego*; in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* vol. I, p. 264.

⁶ *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, p. 41; cf. p. 86.

⁷ *Howitt*, *The Native Tribes of South-Eastern Australia*, p. 301; — *Jung*, *Weltteil Australien*, p. 140; quoted by *Steinmetz*, *Ethnologische Studien*, vol. II, p. 40.

⁸ *Martius*, *Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 31; — *Nordenskjöld*, *Indianlif*, p. 31; — *Turner*, *Ethnology of the Ungava District*; in 11:th *Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol.* p. 199; — *Bourke*, *The Medicine Man of the Apache*; in 9:th *Ann. Rept.* p. 505; — *Russel*, *The Pima Indians*, in 26:th *Ann. Rept.* p. 256; — *Swanton*, *The Tlingit Indians*; in 26:th *Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol.* p. 466, *passim*; — *Rocheport*, *Iles Antilles*, p. 359 sq.; — *Baumann*, *Durch*

Lang asserts that judging by the analogy of similar medicine-men in various races, »they may have exercised a good deal of political authority»,¹ while the political influence of the priests was almost absolute among the early Gaúls², and considerable also among the early Germans.³

Subordination under strict authority is called forth likewise by the functions of the secret societies. As the authors who stress the constructive value of savage warfare pass in more or less complete silence over the integrating value of secret societies, they are bound to depreciate their great influence on the nature of primitive authority.⁴ Yet when they are set side by side, the permanent rule of secret societies is undoubtedly in many instances of far greater importance than the occasional subordination of volunteers to the command of a war leader.

There is in savage life yet another authority, over-ruling all of those just mentioned; this is custom. »A custom», says Westermarck, »in the strict sense of the word, is not merely the habit of a certain circle of men, but at the same time involves a moral rule. There is a close connection between these two characteristics of custom, its habitualness and its obligatoriness. Whatever be the foundation for a certain practice, and however trivial it may be, the unreflecting mind has a tendency to disapprove of any deviation from it for the simple reason that such a deviation is unusual». ⁵ In the omnipotence of customs is another solution to the question of the authority of old men. They are acquainted with the habits of the forefathers,⁶ and in many

Massailand, p. 187; — *Casati*, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, pp. 133, 304, passim; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, pp. 839, 851, 883, passim; — *Williams and Calwert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 227.

¹ *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 24.

² *Mommsen*, The History of Rome, vol. V, p. 25 sqq.

³ *Wilser*, Die Germanen, p. 111.

⁴ *Webster*, Op. cit. pp. 60, 74, and passim.

⁵ *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 159; — *Bagehot*, Physics and Politics, p. 150 sqq.

⁶ *Spencer and Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. II, p. 410; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 11; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, pp.

instances these in turn are supposed strictly to demand that no deviation from their own customs should take place; ¹ nay, savage gods in general are often maintained to be the guardians of customs. ²

One special group of primitive customs are those pertaining to the various forms of peaceful co-operation and mutual aid in general. The daily performance of acts for the common benefit, the strict observance, too, of rules as to strangers, and the following out of other customs must certainly foster a sense of obedience. Indeed, is it not directly on this permanent habit of subordination to rules for the peaceful benefit of the community that unorganized savage warfare mainly bases its own methods? Bearing in mind the inference above made with regard to the character of savage warfare, and remembering that there are many savage communities entirely unused to a subordination to warlike command, and that, from the point of view of integration, co-operation in peace is, as a rule, the source of co-operation in war, we must certainly conclude that in the case of primitive authority, too, the permanent habit of subordination to the rules set by customs in all the various forms of peaceful co-operation, is of far greater value than an occasional submission to a war leadership. This conclusion will presently find further support.

The authority of the heads of savage families and of elders in general prevails as a rule in all the departments of ordinary life, *i. e.*, in those matters also which are properly called political. Yet, however equally the rule may be shared by them,

228, 254; — *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 95; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 335, passim; — *Murdoch*, *Ethnol. Results of Point Barrow Exp.*; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 427; — *Pilsudski*, *Op. cit.* p. 72; — *Maine*, *Village Communities*, pp. 69, 111, 116 sq.; — *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, p. 283; — *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, part IV.

¹ *Westermarck*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 519 sqq.

² *Westermarck*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 670, 728.

their influence is not always of equal importance. Giddings observes that all animals exhibit an uncritical wonder at unusual displays of power or brilliancy, and express their deference to those who are admired or feared.¹ This is the case with the human race also; even the lowest men are aware of the difference in personal power between their superior and inferior fellows. Hence in the council of elders certain members gain reputation in a greater degree than others, and as soon as this takes place we meet with the first traces of a special chieftainship.

Some authors have denied that the Australian aborigines have chiefs,² other statements bear testimony to the opposite effect. Thus, speaking generally of these natives, Mathews observes that every local division of a tribe, no matter how few its members, has a leader who is recognized as such on account of his age or other special qualities. Moreover, if a number of local groups coalesce and constitute a larger unit, these several leaders or headmen not only retain their »patriarchal position» among their own people, but by common consent they superintend all the affairs of the entire unit. Yet if some other men possess magical powers, or if they are noted warriors or men of fluent speech or able song-makers, they might »by force of character become also headmen».³ With regard to particular communities, the following quotations will throw light upon the matter.⁴ »Throughout Australia and Torres Strait», MacGillivray observes, »the existence of chieftainship, either hereditary or acquired, has in no instance of which I am aware been clearly proved; yet in each community there are certain individuals

¹ *Giddings*, *Elements of Sociology*, p. 247.

² Quoted by *Wheeler*, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, pp. 46, 48n.

³ *Mathews*, *Australian Tribes*; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 942 sqq.

⁴ Steinmetz asserts that the most advanced chieftainship is to be met with in the South-East part of the continent, less in Central and Southern Australia, and least in Western regions. — *Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, vol. II, p. 41.

who exercise an influence over the others . . . These so-called chiefs are generally elderly men, who from prowess in war, force of character, or acknowledged sagacity, are allowed to take the lead in everything relating to the tribe». Moreover, in Torres Strait such people, says the same author, are generally wealthy men, owners of several wives, etc.¹ According to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, there is no one among the central tribes to whom the term of chief or head of the tribe could be properly applied, yet the elder men who are the heads of the local groups superintend all the matters relating to the great ceremonial gatherings.² They also take charge of the sacred store-house, which is their most important duty.³ These chiefs, among the Arunta called *alatunja*, call together the elder men to settle all the civil and criminal matters, and their own opinion carries an amount of weight which is dependent on their reputation. Moreover, in some instances at least »the post is one which within certain limits is hereditary, passing from father to son». ⁴ Yet when large numbers of the tribe gather together, some of the oldest men are of little if any account, whereas others »not so old as they were, but more learned in ancient lore and skilled in matters of magic were those, who settled everything». ⁵ Among some of these groups the *alatunja* was at the same time the sole medicine man; in others special men had charge of these duties. ⁶ On the other hand, when small expeditions are sent to revenge the death of one of the members of the community, an able relative of the dead acts as the leader. ⁷ Of the natives

¹ *MacGillivray*, Voyage of »Rattlesnake», vol. II, p. 27 sq.; cf. also p. 8, and vol. I, pp. 148, 151; — Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. V, p. 265; cf. pp. 263 sqq., 273, 276.

² *Spencer and Gillen*, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 20 sqq.; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 10 sq., 16; cf. p. 280; — *Idem*, Across Australia, vol. I, p. 232 sq.; vol. II, p. 256.

³ The Northern Tribes, p. 28; — The Native Tribes, p. 11; cf. p. 154.

⁴ The Native Tribes, p. 10.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 12.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 16.

⁷ Across Australia, vol. II, p. 293; — The Northern Tribes, p. 25 sq.

of Port Lincoln, Schürmann asserts that they have no chiefs or any acknowledged superior authority. Considerable deference is, however, shown to old men, this being due partly to »the respect which superior age and experience inspire«, but it is at the same time »greatly increased and kept up by the superstitious awe of certain mysterious rites known only to the grown-up men». ¹ Similarly, »it is remarkable«, says Wyatt, of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay natives, »that none of the tribes appear to be under a chief«. Yet some influence is exercised by the old men and especially by those among them possessing superior physical strength and courage, as also »by those who practise charms». ² Among the Narrinyeri, says Taplin, each tribe has its chief, who is »the leader in war and whose person is carefully guarded in the battle by the warriors of his clan«. On the other hand, the chieftainship is not hereditary, but elective. Owing to this, other able men also can be elected; thus once one of the chiefs »was not the most warlike or athletic, but was chosen by his tribe«, Taplin remarks, »for his wisdom, moderation, and good temper«. Besides, whatever may be the capacity of a warlike chief, »the most real authority exercised by the chief and his supporters is enforced by means of witchcraft». ³ In his description of the tribes of South-East Australia, Howitt observes that a man of persuasive eloquence, a skilful and brave fighting man and a powerful medicine man, was once the chief among the Dieri, ⁴ while, according to Gason, their chiefs are, as a rule, »natives of influence». ⁵ In the Tongaranga tribe of the Itchumundi nation authority is exercised by the headman and the elders, who manage all the affairs, such as »the allotment

¹ *Schürmann*, The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln; in *Woods*, Native Tribes of South Australia, p. 226.

² *Wyatt*, The Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 168.

³ *Taplin*, The Narrinyeri; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 32.

⁴ *Howitt*, The Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, p. 297 sq.

⁵ *Gason*, The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe; in *Woods*, Op. cit. p. 263.

of wives, ceremonies for making rain, and such like». ¹ Among the Wümbaio, a chief must have age, personal prowess, talents as a leader, and a clever tongue. A magician would not necessarily be a headman on account of his skill, although that might happen. ² The oldest man of the tribe among the Theddara was recognized as chief, yet whenever an attack was planned the ablest warrior acted, as a rule, as leader. ³ In the Ngarigo and Wolgol tribes, the headman combined the office with that of medicine-man, while some old men were war leaders. ⁴ Among the Southern tribes of the Kamilaroi the position of the two or three headmen of the tribal divisions was one of influence and authority depending above all upon the valour of the individual. Thus a distinguished warrior or orator would become a chief, and his son, if valiant, would possibly succeed him. »The oldest headman would be the chief or principal man in the council of elders. He could carry a measure by his own voice, as the Kamilaroi», says Howitt, »have great respect for age». ⁵ In the Southern Wiradjuri a headman »is always a medicine-man». Moreover the office was hereditary, for a son would succeed to it if he possessed any oratorical or other eminent ability. ⁶ As for the Wakelbura tribe, the strongest and best fighting men were »listened to» in a debate, and the aged men had also some little authority. ⁷ Similarly in the Bigambui tribe the headman was the best warrior. ⁸ Among all the Kulin tribes, the old men govern their tribe, yet some of them, called *Ngurungaeta*, are more influential than the others. »If a man was sensible, spoke straight, and did harm to no one, people would listen to him and obey him. Such a man would certainly become a Ngurun-

¹ *Howitt*, Op. cit. p. 301.

² Loc. cit.

³ Op. cit. p. 302.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Op. cit. p.302 sq.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 303.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 304.

gaeta, if his father was one before him». ¹ Moreover, able warriors or orators could also ascend from the leadership of a local group to that of an entire tribe. ² In the Yerakla-mining tribe the medicine-men are headmen. ³ This is the case also among the Yin tribe, although in order to be fitted for his office the chief, called *Gommera*, must be also aged, able to speak several dialects, a good fighting man, and above all able to perform »those feats of magic which the *Gommeras* exhibit at the initiation ceremonies». ⁴ Among the Geawel-gol the best warrior would be recognized as »principal adviser», and he would have authority by consent of the elders. Moreover, if his son, too, proved to be an able warrior, he might succeed his father in the leadership; otherwise a medicine-man might act as chief. In any case, however, this leader is only a *primus inter pares* and liable to be set aside by the old men, if his directions are disapproved of. ⁵ As for the Kurnai, Howitt observes that »a man's authority increased with years»; yet in one case at least this tribe had two chiefs: one was a great warrior, the other less so, »but he was also a great medicine-man». ⁶ Similar statements, broadly speaking, are given as regards the natives in other parts of Australia as well. ⁷

Owing to the fact that the authors quoted by him have not always been fully reliable, Steinmetz sums up his inquiry into the character of chieftainship among these natives as follows: — The medicine-man is the most influential man in his tribe, though possibly the best hunter and warrior may compete with him in this respect; ⁸ while Wheeler asserts that »there seems

¹ Op. cit. p. 307.

² Op. cit. p. 308.

³ Op. cit. p. 313.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 314.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 316.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 317.

⁷ *Westermarck*, History of Human Marriage, p. 45; — *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 50 sq.

⁸ »Der Zauberer ist die bedeutendste Person im Stamme, höchstens concurrirt mit ihm der beste Jäger und Krieger». — *Steinmetz*, Studien zur

to be a strong local organization under headmen throughout Australia, the only difference being that in the central area the headmen are primarily totemic». ¹

In his description of the Wagawaga and Tubetube in New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann points out that they had no proper tribal or clan chiefs; certain men were, however, recognized as important. These were oldish men and their importance had not come to them from their maternal uncles, but was largely due to the prominent part they took in the feasts. »The fact that such men would readily be credited with some knowledge of magic would increase their reputation and cause their opinions to carry weight in the councils of the old men«. Moreover, they were usually rich men. On the other hand, »there were no war chiefs, but merely leaders of individual war parties«. Most of the wars were simply acts of revenge. »Accordingly a close kinsman of the deceased was appointed chief . . . and however well he conducted operations, it was only an accident that could again make him a leader of a war party«. ²

According to Messrs Sarasin, the Toala, the Troglodytes in Celebes, have a chief called *Balisao*, whose office is hereditary. A woman can become chief also, though in this case her husband has charge of the duties, which consist in settling small disputes and controlling the strictly monogamous matrimonial conditions and matters of property. ³ No wars are waged. ⁴ Together with *Balisao*, the eldest male member of the community or *Ada* makes the offerings in order to secure material prosperity to the people. ⁵ The so-called Lower Nagas have no chiefs, says Dalton. They appoint a spokesman, who has »the reputation of superior

ersten Entwicklung der Strafe, vol. II, p. 40; quoting *Jung*, Weltteil Australien, p. 140.

¹ *Wheeler*, Op. cit. p. 50. — See also *Thomas*, Natives of Australia, p. 143 sq.

² *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 453.

³ *Sarasin*, Reisen auf Celebes, vol. II, p. 276.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 277.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 290.

wisdom, or perhaps, more frequently, the influence of wealth». ¹ Of the Veddas Dr. Seligmann states that »there is no system of hereditary chieftainship». ² Each group has its senior; ³ in one instance we read that »the most intelligent man . . . obviously ruled the community by force of character, coupled with the fact that he was a shaman». ⁴ According to other observers, a Vedda clan is governed by the eldest or most intelligent member; he has the charge of the division of food, he settles disputes, and he also represents the community when strangers are met. ⁵ Hence, as Messrs. Sarasin remark, we find here the first traces of government. ⁶

According to Nelson, the Alaskan Eskimo have no recognized chiefs except such as gain a certain influence through »wisdom, age, wealth, or shamanism». The old men are listened to with respect and among these again there are usually one or more in each village who by their knowledge of the traditions, customs and rites connected with the festivals, are deferred to and act as »chief advisers of the community». In some cases such headmen may be succeeded by their sons if these have the necessary qualities. ⁷ On the other hand, neither did they have any recognized war leaders; »each fought as he pleased with the

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 42.

² Seligmann, *The Veddas*, p. 62.

³ Op. cit. p. 38.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 86.

⁵ Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, vol. III, p. 486; cf. p. 482.

⁶ Wir sehen bei den Weddas nur die ersten Spuren einer Regierung, indem Alter, verbunden mit Intelligenz ein gewisses Ansehen mit sich bring, mit welchem letzterem indessen keine Vorrechte sich verbinden; es ist Ansehen vorhanden, aber keine Macht». — Op. cit. vol. III, p. 486; cf. p. 468.

⁷ Nelson, *Eskimo about Bering Strait*; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 304. — For the Eskimo in general, see e. g. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 65; — Murdoch, *Ethnographical Results of the Point Barrow Expedition*; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 42, 427; — Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*, pp. 24, 26; cf. p. 16.

exception that some of the older men had general supervision and control of the expedition». ¹ Speaking of the medicine-man among the Ten'a Indians, Mr. Jetté states: — »For these tribes he is the nearest approach to a chief, a priest, and a physician: to a chief because he practically forms and models the public opinion, the only rule among the Ten'a, to a priest because he acts as the intermediary between the visible and the invisible world, to a physician, because his power enables him to cast away devils by which diseases are caused». ² An old Omaha legend tells of the origin of an established government among them as follows: — The people said, »let us appoint men who shall preserve order». Accordingly they selected »the wisest, the most thoughtful, generous and kind», and these consulted together and agreed upon a council of seven who should govern the people. On the other hand, we read of the Navaho Indians that »up to a comparatively recent period they have existed principally by ³war and plunder»; ⁴ yet they are without chiefs in the ordinary meaning of the term, although there are men who occupy prominent positions and exercise a kind of semi-authority, »chiefs by courtesy as it were,» says Mindeleff. ⁵ Wealth, however, gives »additional influence» to their class of aristocracy. ⁶ Of the neolithic Guyaki in Paraguay, Vogt states that they had a chief who was their priest, too. Thus, when the people were assembled, he ascended a high tree, and turning his eyes towards the sky, he prayed, especially in times of scarcity and when starting out to hunting. ⁷ The Fuegian clans have some

¹ *Nelson*, Op. cit. p. 329.

² *Jetté*, On the Medicine-Man of the Ten'a; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1907, p. 163 sq.

³ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 74.

⁴ *Mindeleff*, Navaho Houses; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 502.

⁵ *Mindeleff*, Op. cit. p. 486.

⁶ *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 413; cf. p. 408.

⁷ *Vogt*, Ethnographie der Guayaki Indianer; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1902, p. 37.

sort of chiefs;¹ on the other hand in wars, »the restraint and direction of their elders, advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient». ² Among the Patagonians chiefs were richer than the other people ³ and were the leaders in war. ⁴ According to Krapf, the Wakamba have no firmly established government whatever. »Wealth, a ready flow of language, an imposing personal appearance, and above all, the reputation of being a magician and rain-maker, are the surest means by which a Mkamba can attain power and importance and secure the obedience of his countrymen». ⁵ Among the Wassandani and Wanenge in East Africa the magicians and rain-makers are the sole chiefs, ⁶ while among the Hottentots »usually the person of greatest property is considered to be the chief». ⁷

Moreover, the constant rise of new communities also calls forth new rulers. Thus, to quote some instances, an Eskimo may form a group and become as a matter of course its leader; but he has to provide for his group if he does not wish to see the people scattered. ⁸ An able man among the Ba-Yanzi in South-Western Congo »will often leave his village and set up as a petty chief on his own account». ⁹ Uganda is said to have originated through the success of a hunter in gathering around him negroes, who finally invited him to become their chief. ¹⁰

The instances quoted throw some light upon the first begin-

¹ *Darwin*, *The Descent of Man*, vol. I, p. 167; — *Westermarck*, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 44 sq.

² *King and Fitzroy*, *Voyages of the »Adventure» and »Beagle»*, vol. II, p. 179.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 152.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 159, 164.

⁵ *Krapf*, *Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa*, p. 355.

⁶ *Baumann*, *Durch Massailand*, p. 193.

⁷ *Thomson*, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. II, p. 30.

⁸ *Nelson*, *Eskimo about Bering Strait*; in 18:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 303.

⁹ *Torday and Joyce*, *Ethnology of the S. W. Congo*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1907, p. 139. See also p. 146.

¹⁰ *Johnston*, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. II, p. 679 sq.

nings of a chieftainship beyond the simple authority of elders. In some cases the eldest male member of the group was seen to be the leader; in others magicians, able orators, or the boldest warriors have won the sway over their people; in some again, wealth as such has dominated. On the whole, which of these various forms of rudimentary chieftainship has succeeded in becoming the most prevalent amongst savages? There is, of course, foremost the theory that owing to the incessant state of savage warfare the rule of the boldest warriors has become the normal type of savage chieftainship.¹ As soon, however, as it becomes evident that the warlike character of savage life has been greatly exaggerated and, further, that too much stress has been laid on the integrating value of primitive wars, there seems to be no sufficient reason to assume that wars could constitute so universal a phenomenon that protection against human foes is the main form of help which primitive communities require of their leaders, so that the war leaders gradually get an increasing sway over them. On the contrary, the fact observed above, that the war leader is, in some instances at least, the nearest relative seeking for revenge, shows at once that the more savage warfare consists of mere acts of revenge, the less does it tend to the rise of a firmly-established chieftainship. This inference is also corroborated by the fact that peaceful communities must also be held to have a tendency to obtain a more settled form of government than that simply of the rule of elderly men. Frazer, on the other hand, in strongly opposing »the idea that the first king was simply the strongest and bravest man of his tribe»,² has been inclined, at least to some extent,³ to the view that magicians as the most intelligent men in the group have been the earliest chiefs.⁴ »Thus so far as the public profession

¹ See *infra*, chap. I.

² Frazer, *The History of Early Kingship*, p. 36.

³ Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. I, pp. 332 sqq., 420 sqq.

⁴ Frazer, *Early Kingship*, pp. 82, 84.

of magic affected the constitution of savage society, it tended to place the control of affairs in the hands of the ablest man: it shifted the balance of power from the many to the one: it substituted a monarchy for a democracy, or rather for an oligarchy of old men». ¹ According to the hypothesis of Webster, »probably the earliest ruler is often only the highest in the secret society; his power derived from his association with it and his orders executed by it». ²

As far, however, as the instances just quoted yield any guidance, it seems difficult in this way to lay down a clearly-defined principle for the origin of primitive chieftainship. The occurrence of some magicians as chiefs does not explain the hold of certain able warriors, nor on the other hand does the authority of men skilled in ancient lore and sacred ceremonies give an immediate explanation of the great authority wielded by wealthy men. Thus an answer to the question, how the permanent chieftainship arose, must be wide enough not only to include all the various forms of the most primitive chieftainship just mentioned, but to cover likewise causes constant enough to bring about the emergence of a permanent chieftainship from these various tendencies to an advance on the mere rule of elders.

At the first glance the difference between the various forms of the first appearance of a special chieftainship may seem to be considerable. Yet it is more superficial than real. It is certainly true that the rule of the elders changes in the examples *pari passu* with the passing of the generations. The oldest we found were in some instances superseded by younger members who were more skilled in the ancient lore and the important ceremonies, while warriors might be succeeded by magicians. Yet behind all the cases there is to be found a leading principle.

¹ Frazer's view that *e. g.* in Africa (Golden Bough, vol. I, p. 246 sqq.), besides priestly chiefs, war leaders are to be met with in the same communities has been anticipated, *e. g.* by Bastian. See for instance »Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste», vol. II, p. 230, and »Die Culturländer des Alten America,» *passim*.

² Webster, Secret Societies, p. 108; cf. pp. 93, 104, *passim*.

The men who rise in influence above the other elders are thought to work for the benefit of their communities more successfully than the others; if not able or willing to do that, they will in turn lose their hold over the people. If, now, the life of savage men is not so entirely occupied by warlike activities as to call forth a lasting predominance of the strongest war leaders, there must be some other more constant features which appear to them, whether warlike or not, as more important, and therefore enable skilful individuals permanently to display their usefulness to the communities.

Contrary to the view that early integration was generally caused by co-operation in war, it was observed in the previous chapter that the main condition of primitive consolidation was the possibility of getting food. It must consequently be one of the main efforts of the men who have influence over their people, to procure those quantities of food the group required in order not to be compelled to scatter or to perish. Hence, as it was also noticed above, the men who successfully provided for their people in life were still thought after death to take care of those they left behind. If this is the case with individuals in general, it cannot be less true of those who have acted in their lifetime as the leaders of their communities. Speaking of the Maori, Shortland¹ observes that the *Atua*, or the spirits of the departed chiefs, had a special care for the prosperity of their survivors. Of the Nyanza, to the South of Lake Nyanza, we read that their departed chief is thought still to hold »a directing influence on the well-being of the tribe«. ² And the Ponka believe that the chiefs, »although long dead, are still living and still exercise a care over the people and seek to promote their welfare; so we make the offering of food, the support of our life, in recognition of them as still our chiefs and caring for us«. ³ On the other

¹ *Shortland*, Traditions and Superstitions of the Maori, p. 210.

² *Stannus*, Tribes of British Central Africa; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, p. 300.

³ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 310.

hand, as was also observed above,¹ the dead are in many, if not most of the cases, regarded as malevolent towards the living, and must accordingly be appeased. Be this as it may, the relation of primitive peoples to their spiritual world, generally speaking, is of the greatest importance to them; their welfare depends upon the attitude of the unseen powers. Moreover, this holds good of all savage communities, whether warlike or peaceful, and it is ever in evidence.

If this be the case, we have, perhaps, the key to the various forms of rudimentary chieftainship. When the duty of attending and appeasing the unseen powers was, as regards the family, incumbent on the head, why, in the circle of the elders, should not the men more able than their fellows, similarly believe themselves to be responsible for a benevolent attitude of the spirit world towards their people that it may send them that well-being in material and other respects which the community has need of? And if this be the case with the relation of men to the spirits they believe in, it is not less true with regard to savage belief in other supernatural powers. The savage belief in the supernatural is not limited to the conviction that their dead ancestors send to them, for instance, favourable weather to ripen their crops, or that they otherwise care for their material welfare; they firmly believe that by means of magic also, man can influence his welfare. Everywhere magicians are thought to bring about favourable weather, cause fruit and crops to ripen, and help the hunter and the fisherman;² why should the

¹ *Supra* p. 146.

² *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, pp. 34, 128, 202 sq., 237, 273 sqq., 283; — *Spencer and Gillen*, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 285, passim; — *Howitt*, *The Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, p. 394 sq.; — *Siebert*, *Sagen und Sitten der Dieri*; in *Globus*, vol. XCVII, 1910, p. 55; — *Codrington*, *The Melanesians*, pp. 192, 200 sq.; — *Turner*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 89; — *Idem*, *Samoa*, p. 345; — *McClintock*, *The Old North Trail*, p. 320 sq.; — *Lumholtz*, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. I, pp. 225, 311, 323, 331, 353, 432, 519, 552; vol. II, pp. 7 sq., 10, 18, 189; — *Dobrizhoffer*, *The Abipones*, vol. II, p. 67; — *Kidd*, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 102 sq.; 115 sq., 155,

magician, when also a chief, not make use of this skill? And again, if savages pay great respect to the men who, by means of the supernatural, procure what they want for their welfare, is it not self-evident that the abundance of some individuals, when liberally distributed, similarly fosters a sense of dependence and obedience? To the savage mind the important thing is not to know in what form he obtains his livelihood, but the fact that he does indeed obtain it. This, too, is why every person, whether a chief or not, enjoys a high reputation who is successful in getting food.] »Rain-making», says Grant, of the natives of South Africa, »is a greater power in the eyes of natives than that of the *assegai*». ¹ Speaking of the Indians of North America, Powell states that he was »the most valuable person in the community who supplied it with the most of its necessities. For this reason the successful hunter or fisherman was always held

169; — *Krapf*, Travels, pp. 170, 252; — *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 379 sq.; — *Garbutt*, Native Witchcraft; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 547 sq.; 550; — *Hobley*, Kavironde; in Geographical Journal, 1898, vol. XII, p. 368.

Of the influence of strangers on the weather, two instances may be quoted. Of the visit of M. Fallières to Algeria in April, 1911, a telegram to the *Times* states: — »It is a curious fact that wherever the President proceeds, his arrival is heralded by rainstorms. During the course of a railway journey yesterday, a halt was made at Sidi-bu-Ali . . . A number of Arabs informed the President that they were very glad to see him because he was wearing green spurs. This remark caused much astonishment, and the natives proceeded to explain that visitors were divided into two classes — those who wore green spurs and those who wore red ones. The former, according to the popular superstition, brought with them the rain, which was so beneficial to the crops, while the latter were looked upon with apprehension because of the drought which followed upon their visit.» — The *Times*, April, 22:nd, 1911.

Westermarck gives similar information as regards the natives in Morocco. — The Moral Ideas, vol. I, p. 582.

With regard to the belief of the Moors in the influence of magic in general on crops and the weather, see *Westermarck*, Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture in Morocco, passim.

¹ *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 267.

high in honour, and the woman who gathered great store of seeds, fruits or roots, or who cultivated a good cornfield, was one who commanded the respect and received the highest approbation of the people.¹ Owing to this tendency to appreciate the social value of material activity, we meet also among savages with hunting, industrial, or other similar chiefs.² On the other hand, it is worthy of remark that even the success of wealthy people may be ascribed more to their supposed skill in magic than to their industry and thrift.³

The instances quoted above show that the rank of chieftainship had, in some cases at least, a tendency to become hereditary if the successor proved to be an able man. And when once this had started, whether in the paternal or maternal line of descent,⁴ the process was certainly likely to go further, along with the gradual growth in the framework of social organization. When a dead chief was supposed still to have control over the fate of the living, and when on the nearest relative there devolved the duty of making offerings to him, would it not be most likely to be through him that the ghost of the important ancestor was prepared to act for the benefit of the whole community? And when a magician or a wealthy man took care of his family in other respects, why should not his rank, his skill or wealth be inherited by an able relative? For the purpose of illustration, instances may be quoted. In his description of the Fijian system

¹ *Powell*, Indian Linguistic Families; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 35.

² *Von der Decken*, Reisen, vol. II, p. 105; — *Merker*, Die Masai, p. 236; — *Lenz*, Wanderungen in Afrika, p. 201; — *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 71; — *Erskine*, Islands of the Western Pacific, pp. 167, 177, 181, 189; — *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 551, vol. II, p. 195; *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. passim; — *Kane*, Wanderings, pp. 309, 311; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 312; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 565.

³ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 453.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 141 sq.; cf. also *Giddings*, Elements of Sociology, p. 254 sqq.

of hereditary rule, Mr. Thomson states: — »Generations came and went; the tribe had increased from tens to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the blood of the common ancestor . . . was venerated as the head of the tribe. The ancestor was not forgotten, but he was now translated into *Ka-lou-vu*» (*i. e.* Root God). »His descendant, the tribal chief, is set within the pale of tabu, his will may not be disobeyed . . . without incurring the wrath of the unseen». ¹ A similar statement is made by Mr. Kidd about the natives of South Africa: all the tribes are divided into clans, each of which consists of a group of families. Accordingly, a paramount chief has to »watch for the interests of the entire tribe; the petty chiefs have to watch the interests of the various clans; the headmen have to watch the interests of their respective groups of families, and the father has to watch the interests of his family.» Moreover, in some of the tribes the chief is still assisted by and responsible to the council of elders, in others he may already be an absolute tyrant. ² To these instances a host of others more or less to the same effect could be added; ³ in fact, a considerable number of them will be presented in the following chapters.

On the other hand, too much stress must not be laid upon the importance of hereditary rights in the primitive chieftainship, as they by no means always reach such strength as not to be disregarded without much difficulty if peculiar circumstances demand it. Above all, the nearest heir must be an able man,

¹ *Thomson*, *The Fijians*, p. 58 sq.

² *Kidd*, *Kafir Socialism*, p. 5.

³ For further particulars, see *Turner*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp. 280, 284; — *Featherman*, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, vol. II, pp. 89 sqq., 155 sq., passim; *Munzinger*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 232 sqq.; — *Northcote*, *The Nilotic Cuvirondo*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1907, p. 59 sq.; — *Featherman*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 8, passim; — *Pauthier*, *Chine*, p. 135; — *Dahn*, *Die Könige der Germanen*, vol. I, p. 25, passim; — *Freeman*, *English Constitution*, p. 9 sqq.; — *Skene*, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. III, pp. 140, 328; — *Mitchell*, *History of the Highlands*, p. 295; — *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 343, vol. III, p. 423 sq.

otherwise some other relative may be elected,¹ or some »pretender» or »reformer» may succeed in becoming chief. As will be seen later,² this can be done, especially by individuals more intelligent and able than the rest of the people, by magicians, warriors, or wealthy men, in short by such men in general as were noticed to have special influence in the rudimentary council of the elders. Nor is, indeed, the establishment of a hereditary chieftainship of vital importance to primitive rule. That savage communities recognize a permanent rule, is the paramount point in our investigation, not the rights of certain families to the supreme authority.

How far these various inferences, made on the basis of the instances quoted above which throw light upon the primitive chieftainship as just emerging from the rudimentary authority of elders, are in accordance with further facts, will be seen presently, when we come to those instances in which an already firmly-established chieftainship is to be met with. If in this case the holders of a permanent chieftainship are found to be responsible for the general welfare of their communities, that is, are seen worshipping and appeasing the invisible powers in order to keep their own people from supernatural danger, as well as giving them the power, through various means, natural or supernatural, to obtain their livelihood, then the main duty of the savage chieftainship has certainly been to preserve their communities rather in the general struggle for life than in a mere struggle against foes. Then also the character of these duties is in and by itself a definite answer to the question of the origin of primitive chieftainship.

¹ *Maine*, *The Early History of Institutions*, p. 117; — *Freeman*, *English Constitution*, vol. I, p. 29; — *Skene*, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. III, p. 328; and *infra*, chapters VII, VIII.

² See *infra*, chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE CHIEFTAINSHIP

Corresponding to the distinction between a more primitive and a more advanced form of savage warfare, a distinction must also be made between an earlier form of savage chieftainship and a later one existing among those more advanced communities which wage wars for the purpose of booty and conquest. As the investigation into savage warfare was restricted in the previous chapters to the earlier and more rude forms of savage warfare, so also in the following chapters attention will be paid only to instances of the said primitive chieftainship and to such others where traces of the earlier stage are still to be seen.

Messrs. McKenney and Hall give the following account of tribal government among the North American Indians in general: — »Each tribe had two descriptions of officers, performing different duties, and acting independent of one another. The village or peace chiefs directed the civil concerns of the government. They were usually hereditary or elected from particular families. Among some of the tribes the descent was in the direct line from father to son; among others it was in the collateral line from the uncle to nephew . . . Women were sometimes but not often eligible to authority . . . The rank of these chiefs was fixed and generally one of them was the acknowledged head of the tribe, and the others were his counsel-

lors . . . These chiefs adjusted any disputes existing among the individuals or families of the tribe; assigned to all their proper hunting districts; received and transmitted messages from and to other tribes; conducted and controlled their great feasts and religious festivals, and concluded peace». ¹ Moreover, they had an elective war captain or war chief and »in the selection of these warriors the accident of birth had no influence», but only the real capacity and prowess of the warriors. ² It seems however, as has been pointed out by Dr. Elander, ³ that the division in question was characteristic of the clan rather than the tribe — a confusion which occurs in the following statements as well. Among the Sauks, the position of peace chief was hereditary, while that of war chief was elective. ⁴ The former was »nominally the first man in the tribe». He presided at the councils, all matters of importance were carried out in his name, and he was »saluted by the patriarchal title of Father». ⁵ In his description of the political organization of the Ojibway, or Chippeway Indians, Mr. Jones ⁶ states that the office of civil chieftainship »is hereditary, but not always conferred on the eldest son. When a vacancy occurs, the surviving chiefs and principal men meet in council, and then select the most suitable person out of the family. The eldest son has the first consideration; but if he is deficient in any of the qualifications which they consider necessary, they select the next best qualified». ⁷ Further, »the office of war chief is not hereditary, but the tribe in council confer this honour on those who have distinguished themselves by bravery and wisdom. Such chiefs always take the lead in their wars, while the civil chiefs manage their general

¹ *McKenney and Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. III, p. 10.

² Loc. cit.

³ *Elander*, The Chief of the Indian Clan in North America, pp. 24, 38.

⁴ *McKenney and Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 71; vol. II, pp. 55, 68, 229.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 67.

⁶ *Jones*, The Ojibway Indians, p. 107.

⁷ *Jones*, Op. cit. p. 108.

matters at home». Finally, »the civil chiefs, who in general inherit their chieftainship by descent, are not expected to go to the field of action. They seldom, however, neglect a good opportunity of displaying their wisdom, skill and bravery, and often accompany their people and engage in the conflict». But even in this case the elected war chief acts as the real leader.¹ This division of the chieftainship among the Ojibway is observed by Messrs. McKenney and Hall also.² The same order of things seems to have prevailed among the Menomini,³ the Issati, the Nadouessians,⁴ the Hurons, and also the Delaware⁵ Indians. When the Senecas, the Onondagos, the Kayugas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks founded the League of the Iroquois, which the Tuscaroras also joined, the civil government devolved on fifty hereditary sachems.⁶ No one sachem could go out to war in his official capacity as a civil ruler. If disposed to take the war-path »he laid aside his civil office for the time being and became a common warrior». ⁷ Moreover, the Iroquois had no distinct class of war chiefs raised up and set apart to command in time of war. This again was due to the fact that »all military operations were left entirely to private enterprise and to the systems of voluntary service, the sachems seeking rather to repress and restrain than to encourage the martial ardor of the people». ⁸ There is hardly any doubt that, previous to the establishment of the league, the various units already had a civil government; because it seems absurd to suppose that these

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 130.

² *McKenney and Hall*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 177.

³ *Hoffman*, *The Menomini Indians*; in 14:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 43 sq.

⁴ *Hennepin*, *Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, vol. I, pp. 157 sq., 167, 175; vol. II, p. 74.

⁵ *Carver*, *Travels through the Interior of North America*, p. 257; — *Bastian*, *Die Culturländer des Alten America*. vol. I, p. 652 n 1; cf. p. 668 n 4.

⁶ *Morgan*, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 62 sq.

⁷ *Morgan*, *Op. cit.* p. 72.

⁸ *Op. cit.* pp. 72, 339.

fierce warriors would have consented to abolish an earlier military chieftainship in favour of a new civil form of government.¹ Morgan describes these units as divided into tribes, but here again it seems that these smaller components really were clans and that the league was subsequently founded by six tribes. In this case, it follows as a matter of course that the fifty sachems were simply so many clan chiefs, on whom devolved, as we have already seen, all the duties of peace chiefs.² Later on, however, *pari passu* with the increasing military activity, permanent leaders were required, and consequently two hereditary »supreme military chieftaincies» were established, both of which belonged to the Wolf and Turtle »tribes» of the Senecas.³

According to Mr. Mooney,⁴ the governmental authority among the Cherokee Indians was vested in a hereditary peace chieftainship, whereas the war chief was elected. Moreover, their old peace chief, Yonaguska, at any rate, who died in 1839, was at the same time their high priest.⁵ Other authors, like McKenney and Hall,⁶ maintain that the peace chief could carry on blood-revenge. As to the Creek Indians,⁷ we meet among them with the same division, yet the hereditary peace chief is reported to have acted occasionally as war leader also. Their principal leader was called »Great Sun». Their government »unlike the pure democracies . . . was strong and even despotic». The »Great Sun» was an »object of reverence and almost veneration, this being due to the fact that the sun was the great object of religious adoration». ⁸ In his description of the Semi-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 101 n.

² *Morgan*, *Op. cit.* p. 74; — *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. III, p. 7 sq.; — *Elander*, *Op. cit.* p. 33 sq.

³ *Morgan*, *Op. cit.* p. 73.

⁴ *Mooney*, *Myths of the Cherokee*; in 19:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 162 sq.; — cf. *McKenney and Hall*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 185.

⁵ *Mooney*, *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *McKenney and Hall*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 223.

⁷ *Gatschet*, *The Creek Indians*, pp. 159, 169 sq.

⁸ *McKenney and Hall*, *Op. cit.* vol. III, p. 41; cf. also vol. I, p. 14 sq. and vol. II, p. 68.

noli, who belonged to the same Creek nation, Mr. Gatschet¹ writes: — »The executive officer of each town is the *miko* or chief, formerly called »king» by the whites. His duty is to superintend all public and domestic concerns . . . When the *miko* dies the next of kin in the maternal line succeeds him, usually his nephew, if he is fit for the office . . . The council appoints the great warriors». ² According to MacCauley,³ the hereditary chief is also the chief medicine-man of the community. Similarly, the Fox, or Musquaquee,⁴ and the Pawnee⁵ Indians had their ordinary peace chiefs. Speaking of the social organization of the Kiowa, Mooney⁶ affirms that their six groups »are not clans or gentes (social), based on marriage regulations, but sub-tribes (political), each division having had originally its own chief of the tribe, with certain peculiarities of dialect and sometimes its special 'medicine' or religious ceremonial». The tribal government was committed to the care of a head chief, together with the petty chiefs of the groups and war leaders.⁷ According to Dr. Dorsey, among the Omaha »civil and religious government are scarcely differentiated, but military government is almost entirely so». ⁸ In civil affairs the chiefs exercise legislative, executive, and judicial functions.⁹ As there is no distinct order of priests, some of the religious functions are performed by the regular chiefs, others by the keepers

¹ *Gatschet*, A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, p. 156.

² *Gatschet*, Op. cit. pp. 157, 159; cf. p. 168 sq.; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 189.

³ *MacCauley*, The Seminole Indians; in 5:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 508 sq.

⁴ *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 113.

⁵ *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 163.

⁶ *Mooney*, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 228.

⁷ *Mooney*, Op. cit. p. 233.

⁸ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 356; cf. p. 363.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 216.

of the sacred pipes.¹ On the other hand, these chiefs, »being the civil and religious leaders of the people, cannot serve as captains or even as subordinate officers of a war party. Nor can they join such a party unless it be a large one». ² Yet the peace negotiations were concluded by them. ³ Other observers, Miss Fletcher, and Mr. La Flesche, an Omaha himself, give the following particulars: The Omaha had earlier a hereditary chieftainship until a council of seven was appointed to take charge of all the matters pertaining to the tribe; two of these seven chiefs were of the highest rank. ⁴ Moreover, »upon the Hoⁿga (gens) devolved the leadership in the tribe», and the »gens» itself was divided into two »subgentes». The one of these was the keeper of the »Sacred Pole, which was allied to Thunder and the supernatural powers and symbolized the authority of the chiefs — an authority believed to be derived from Wakoⁿda» (the Great Spirit). To the other subdivision were committed the physical welfare of the tribe and the control of private war expeditions, which disturbed the tranquillity of the community. ⁵ As for the leadership of these war parties, it devolved on the originator of them. ⁶ »It was only in defensive warfare that a chief of the Council of Seven could go to war»; ⁷ hence they did not take part in any of the ceremonies on the eve of private warfare. ⁸ Once only in the history of the tribe was an individual charged with the supreme authority of the entire tribe during a war of revenge. But in this case also the temporary leader was at the same time the offended person, and moreover

¹ Op. cit. pp. 356, 363.

² Op. cit. pp. 217, 368. — Cf. also *Idem*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 214.

³ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology, p. 217; cf. p. 368.

⁴ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 208; cf. pp. 212, 594.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 154; cf. pp. 142, 194 sq.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 431 sq., passim.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 425. See also p. 211.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 434; cf. p. 431.

in this exceptional case »had received authority from a sacred pack». ¹ Similarly among the Dakota, ² the peace chiefs governed all civil and religious matters, and only in exceptional cases could they lead in war; while among the Ponka³ and Kansas⁴ the leadership in war devolved on elected chiefs, the permanent rule on peace chiefs. With regard to the other tribes of the Siouan, ⁵ among the Saponi ⁶ the chief added to his dignity the sacred character of a medicine-man, and thus the chief was a priest as well as a king. ⁷ A hereditary chief of the Teton tribe, as described by Messrs. McKenney and Hall, had never been distinguished either in war or as a hunter. ⁸ Similarly among the Winnebagois the peace chieftaincy was hereditary. ⁹ A like form of chieftainship prevailed among the Iowa ¹⁰ also. According to Mr. Dorsey, among the Osage Indians »headmen of the gentes are a sort of priests». ¹¹

When we turn to the tribes living still further West and North, there is much reason to believe that this same division existed among the Shoshone or Snake¹² and the Utah Indians¹³ also. Thus the Occineechi, or Oakinackens, had two chiefs, »the one having charge of their hunting and agriculture, the other leading in war», says Mr. Mooney. ¹⁴ Another observer, Ross, ¹⁵

¹ Op. cit. p. 407.

² *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 214, 222.

³ Op. cit. p. 222.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 232.

⁵ *McKenney and Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 61 sq.; vol. III, p. 34.

⁶ *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 39.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 40.

⁸ *McKenney and Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 51.

⁹ Op. cit. vol. III, p. 39.

¹⁰ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 59.

¹¹ *Dorsey*, War Customs; in American Naturalist, vol. XVIII, p. 117.

¹² *Dorsey*, A Study of Siouan Cults; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 375.

¹³ *Bancroft*, The Native Tribes of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 435.

¹⁴ *Mooney*, Op. cit. p. 54.

¹⁵ *Ross*, Adventures, p. 293.

states that the village chief »is the head of the tribe . . . and holds his office by lineal descent: the latter (the war-leader) is elective and chosen by the voice or whim of the majority of the people». Moreover, the peace chiefs were at the same time entrusted with priestly duties.¹ On the tribal chief of the Black-foot devolved the duty of conducting the solemn »Sun dances»;² this was due to the belief that he derived his origin from the sun, accordingly he called the sun »my father». ³ Thus, here again we meet with the hereditary principle in connection with priestly duties.⁴ According to Cox, among the Flathead Indians, the principal chief of the tribe inherits his position, while as war captain is elected »that warrior in whom the greatest portion of wisdom, strength and bravery are combined. The election takes place every year; and it sometimes happens that the general in one campaign becomes a private in the next. This 'war chief', as they term him, has no authority whatever when at home, and is equally amenable as any of the tribe to the hereditary chief». ⁵ Mr. Dunn adds of the peace chief that he »is generally at the same time priest». ⁶ Thus, he assembles them to prayer, in which they all join in an occasional chorus. »He then exhorts them to good conduct. These customs were adopted before the arrival of Christian teachers among them». ⁷ The same sort of political organization was established among the Kootanais Indians. ⁸ According to the careful observations

¹ *Ross*, Op. cit. pp. 96, 288 sq.; — *Idem*, *Fur Hunters*, vol. II, p. 94.

² *McClintock*, *Old North Trail*, pp. 286 sq., 296; cf. p. 506.

³ Op. cit. p. 32.

⁴ *McClintock*, Op. cit. pp. 20, 31, 77 sq., 92, 96, 104.

⁵ *Cox*, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, vol. I, p. 241; — *Dunn*, *History of Oregon*, p. 311 sq.; see also p. 98; — *Kane*, *Wanderings*, p. 175.

⁶ *Dunn*, Op. cit. p. 315.

⁷ *Scouler*, *The Indian Tribes, N.-W. Coast of America*; in *Journ. Ethnol. Soc.* vol. I, p. 247.

⁸ *Ross*, *Fur Hunters*, vol. II, p. 172 sq.; cf. also as to the Indians inhabiting the lands north of the sources of the Mississippi, *McKenney and Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 59.

made by Mr. Speck in 1904—5 and 1908, the Yuchi Indians have, besides matriarchal clan divisions, also two different societies, *viz.* the Chief and the Warrior Society. ¹ »The main recognized function of the Chief Society is to manage the governmental affairs of the town so that peace is preserved. They are above all conservative in everything. If anything, the chiefs hold themselves above the warriors in general esteem. They are the thinkers, the speakers, the dignified superiors of the town». ² Similarly, »in all affairs the Chief Society takes precedence». ³ Moreover, the tribe is divided into three towns, in each of which the town chief »is one of the shamans who retains the knowledge of the plants and rituals, ⁴ whereas the town of the tribal chief is, on account also of his religious duties, the centre of religious and political activity». ⁵ The peace chief fixes the day for the beginning of the harvest, ⁶ and he conducts all the festivities of the tribe. ⁷ The entire Warrior Society could start for a war expedition, although war parties as a rule consisted of a few warriors only. ⁸ According to Bancroft, a chief of the Haidah Indians »seems to be the principal sorcerer and indeed to possess little authority save from his connection with the preterhuman powers». ⁹ On the other hand, war expeditions were headed by elected captains. ¹⁰ This division of the sacerdotal peace chieftaincy and the office of elective war leaders seems to have been common among all the Nootka. ¹¹ Thus,

¹ *Speck*, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, p. 74.

² *Speck*, *Op. cit.* p. 76.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 77.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 132, 135.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 83.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 114.

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 119, 122.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 84.

⁹ *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 150.

¹⁰ *Sproat*, *Scenes and Studies*, pp. 28, 187.

¹¹ *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 193 sq.; — *Dunn*, *History of Oregon*, p. 253 sq.

of the Ahts in Vancouver Island, Sproat states that the hereditary chief »never joins an embassy nor leads an expedition in war». ¹ This function is left to the war chiefs, who are »as a rule chosen for their special fitness . . . and not at all on account of their rank». ²

Among the Pueblos, says Bancroft, »an organized system of government existed at the time of Coronato's expedition through their country; Castañeda, speaking of the province of Tiguex, says that the villages were governed by a council of old men». A somewhat similar system prevails among these people at the present time; each village selecting its own chief and a council. ³ Among the Moquis, the chieftainship is hereditary and the chief is assisted by a council. ⁴ Another account gives the following information: — »Among the Hopi or Moqui Indians, one of the principal branches of the Pueblo people, the governing body is composed of a council of hereditary clan-elders and chiefs of the religious fraternities. Of these officials one is a speaker-chief and another a war-chief; but there has never been a supreme chief among the Hopi. Each village has its own hereditary chief, who directs certain communal works». ⁵ In his description of the Pueblos living in New Mexico, Davis states that they elected a peace chief and a war leader. Of the influence of the latter the same author writes: — »In the piping time of peace he is a mere nobody and has neither power nor dignity of office wherewith to console himself». ⁶ Among the Sia, and likewise among the other Pueblos, Mrs. Mathilda Coxe Stevenson observes that the *ti'ämoni*, by virtue of his priestly office, is ex-officio chief executive and legislator. ⁷ He takes part in

¹ *Sproat*, Op. cit. p. 114.

² Op. cit. p. 115 sq.

³ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. 1, p. 546.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. I. p. 547.

⁵ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, vol. 1, p. 565; quoted by *Frazer*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. III, p. 206.

⁶ *Davis*, *El Gringo*, p. 143.

⁷ *Coxe Stevenson*, *The Sia*; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 16.

war expeditions in virtue of his priestly functions, while the war chief acts as the real leader.¹ According to the same author, »the government of Zuñi is hierarchical». The supreme power is vested in the Rain priesthood and Bow priesthood; the former elects and dismisses the civil chiefs.² The so-called shaman, or *maleokami*, of the Huichol Indians is their actual chief, on whom the duty devolves of fixing the dates for all the feasts and religious observances in accordance with communications he is supposed to receive direct from the gods themselves.³ Similarly, among the Tarahumare Indians the actual chief makes a speech during communal or tribal festivals: — »Listen to me! because I am going to give you my words, to present to you the words which the one Above bids me to tell you». ⁴

Of the chieftainship in ancient Mexico and Peru there is information practically to the same effect. Previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, Nicaragua was divided into small provinces, each of which was inhabited by communities having languages of their own. They were governed by *huehues* or old men, who were elected by the people, whereas these rulers themselves elected a war leader. This official, Mr. Bancroft adds, »they had no hesitation in putting to death when he exhibited any symptoms of insubordination or acquired a power over the army which seemed dangerous to the public good». ⁵ On the other hand, in the provinces of Chicuumula, Nietlan was a great religious centre; there the political power was also vested in a sacerdotal hierarchy hereditary in one family. In fact, this form of political organization seems to have been the most common

¹ Op. cit. p. 18.

² *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi Indians; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 289.

³ *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. II, p. 151. The chief is elected, but how the author does not describe.

⁴ *Lumholtz*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 348. At private festivals the shaman is the orator, but at communal or tribal festivals the chief announces the will of the deities.

⁵ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 645, 740 sq.

among the Maya nation. Thus all the more or less mythical founders of the early Maya civilization were at the same time secular kings and high priests, and this state of things went on till the arrival of the Conquistadores.¹ »In Yucatan the Itzas at Chichen were ruled in the earlier times by a theocratic government, and later the high priest of the empire . . . became king of the Izamal, which became the sacred city, the headquarters of ecclesiastical dignitaries». ² Similarly, the Zapotecs were entirely under the sway of the political power of their sacerdotal rulers, yet the people were much attached to this order of things.³ Yopaa, one of their principal cities, was ruled absolutely by a pontiff, in whom the Zapotec monarchs had a powerful rival. »It is impossible» says Bancroft, »to over-estimate the reverence in which this spiritual king was held». ⁴ The principal dignity was hereditary in one family.⁵ Speaking of the so-called Isthmian Indians in general, the same author observes that they had hereditary chiefs, but that at the commencement of a campaign special war leaders were »nominated by the head of the tribe to lead the men in battle and conduct the operations». ⁶ Other authors give similar particulars. Thus, the Chibchas were earlier ruled by a priest-king, whereas a special »crown general» acted as the commander of the army.⁷ This was the case also with regard to the early political organization of other neighbouring communities.⁸ Cholula preserved the character of a temple town and a priestly form of government till the arrival of the Conquistadores.⁹ According to Clavigero, Chiapan was

¹ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 648.

² Op. cit. vol. II, p. 647.

³ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 665.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 142.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 143.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 753; cf. pp. 764, 769 sq.

⁷ *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 396; vol. II, pp. 192, 196.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 302, 305; vol. II, p. 396 sq., passim.

⁹ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 627.

not governed by a king but by two military chiefs, elected by priests. Thus they remained until they were subjected by the last kings of Mexico. ¹

When after the death of Acamapitzin, the first king of Mexico, the noblemen elected his son Huitzilihuitl as his successor, the new ruler was addressed by one of the electors in the following words: — »Remember that we are under the protection of the great god Huitzilopochtli, whose image you are and whose place you fill. The dignity, to which you have been raised by him, should serve, not as an excuse for indolence and effeminacy, but as a spur to exertion». ² He was succeeded in 1409 by his brother Chimolpopoca and, says Clavigero, »from thence it became the established law to make the election of one of the brothers of the deceased king and on failure of brothers of one of his grandsons». ³ Accordingly, his successor was his brother Itzcoatl, who for thirty years had been the chief of the army. ⁴ Indeed, after the death of Chimalpopoca the custom prevailed of electing no one to the throne who had not first been the commander of the army. ⁵ Yet the king was not the more regarded as the military ruler of the State; on the contrary, he was above all a priestly sovereign on whom devolved the celebration of the most solemn sacrifices to their gods. ⁶ Thus the successor of

¹ *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I. p. 106 sq.

² *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 131.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 138.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 156.

⁵ Montezuma I. was succeeded by his cousin Axayacatl, the commander of the army. His successor was his brother Titzoc who also had been the supreme chief of the army. — *Clavigero*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 183, 187, 197, 200.

⁶ *Clavigero*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 301, 310; — *Bancroft*, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 322. Speaking of the election of Hutzilihuitl, Bastian observes: — »In-
dess bewahrte die Königswürde einen vorwiegend priesterlichen Character oder vielmehr eines Friedensfürsten indem neben dem König Hutzilihuitl noch im Besonderen ein Kriegsfürst ernannt würde in Itzcoatl». — *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 625; cf. p. 396. — See also *Acosta*, History of the Indies, vol. I, p. 488 sqq.

Itzcoatl, his cousin Montezuma I. became as king the high priest of Huitzilopochtli,¹ and as for Montezuma II. »he was likewise priest and revered for his gravity, his circumspection, and his religion». ² In fact, such was the honour in which the religious side of the kingship was held that the kings »were each made pontiff before the royal crown was placed upon their head». ³ It is thus evident that the so-called chief priest was merely a vicar of the ordinary king, who continued till the arrival of the Spaniards to perform all the most important sacrifices. ⁴ This feature of the Mexican kingship can be traced back not merely to Huitzilihuitl. Even in still earlier ages the tribal chiefs were at the same time priests,⁵ and when we are told that the later kings were much feared even by the priesthood »on account of their supernatural power», ⁶ there is much reason to believe that this fear was likewise a survival from still earlier ages and a tribal organization.

In his description on the political institutions of the Incas, d'Orbigny remarks: — »Le gouvernement monarchique des Incas était de tous peut-être le plus solidement établi, puisque, les chefs héréditaires . . . réunissaient le pouvoir religieux au pouvoir civil, obtenant à la fois l'adoration et l'obéissance des peuples qui leur furent soumis; aussi leur autorité était-elle sans limites». ⁷ Moreover, the Inca derived his power from the sun — a feature to be met with among the civil and religious chiefs of the North American Indians. ⁸ According to the same author,

¹ *Bastian*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 625 sq.

² *Clavigero*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 207.

³ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 201.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 202.

⁵ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 625; cf. *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 139, 143.

⁶ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 648.

⁷ *d'Orbigny*, *L'Homme Américain*, vol. I, pp. 224 sq., 297.

⁸ *Bastian*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 477, 484, 539 sq.; vol. II, p. 132. — See also *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *The Royal Commentaries*, vol. II, p. 155 sq.; — *Acosta*, *History of the Indies*, vol. I, pp. 411, 426 sqq.

the chiefs of the ten tribes of the Chiquitos »cumulaient les fonctions de médecins, de sorciers, et par conséquent, joignaient à leurs fonctions politiques des fonctions religieuses qui leur donnaient la prépondérance». ¹ Among the Chaco Indians ², and similarly among the Moxos, there was a comparatively clearly marked difference between the medicine chiefs and the war leaders. ³ The council of elders, among the Charruas ⁴, elected war leaders; this was the case, too, with the Toba. ⁵ — The Tricimas living along the left bank of the Amazon from Toreto to Japura are divided into hordes each of them »having a chief and a medicine man or priest of their superstition». ⁶ It seems likely that this is simply the common division — a war leader and an ordinary secular and religious chief. At any rate this division prevailed among the Macamecrams. ⁷ Among the Bororo ⁸ and Aueti ⁹ the chief is at the same time their sorcerer. The Araucanians are divided into clans having hereditary chiefs, *Toqui* or *Ulmen*, »who exercise a species of patriarchal authority». ¹⁰ Moreover, several *Toquis* together form a special »Council of Peace to which under circumstances is entrusted the general supervision of the nation». The Council is in turn presided over by one of the chiefs, who consequently, as the »Grand *Toqui*», is the highest officer of the State. ¹¹ As soon, however, as hostilities are resolved upon, this council of the hereditary chiefs becomes powerless, and the authority is left to a special

¹ *d'Orbigny*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 227; vol. II, pp. 140, 168.

² Op. cit. vol. II, p. 139.

³ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 244.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 90.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 101.

⁶ *Orton*, The Andes and Amazon, p. 320.

⁷ *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 16.

⁸ *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 515.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 344 sq.

¹⁰ *Smith*, The Araucanians, p. 241; — *Latham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1909, p. 355.

¹¹ *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 242.

war leader elected among the ablest men of the entire nation.¹ When the war is ended, the »Council of Peace« once more becomes supreme and the Grand *Toqui* is once again the head of the government.²

As regards the character of primitive chieftainship in Western Africa, Beecham states that, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ashantee kings, when entering upon war expeditions, were employed in »religious preparations during a period of several weeks. Not only in the capital, but at several other places, the king presented fetish offerings in furtherance of the undertaking». ³ Among the Efik and Ekoi tribes, »medicines were the property of, or controlled by, the chiefs». ⁴ The government of the Mandingo Negroes »was originally of a patriarchal character; the oldest member of the clan was both civil and religious head of the community», ⁵ and a general council discussed all matters of importance. The form of their government, therefore, was above all a peace-organization, although at an earlier time they were frequently engaged in war either for offensive or defensive purposes. ⁶ In the Eggarah country the chieftainship was hereditary in the female line,⁷ whereas temporary leaders were entrusted with the command of war expeditions. ⁸ According to Hecquard the Banjar Negroes »sont gouvernés par un chef qui, étant à la fois roi et grand-prêtre, a de très-grands privilèges». ⁹ Among the Peulhs in Gambia the

¹ *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 68 sq.; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 22; cf. p. 640; — *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 243; — *Latham*, Op. cit. p. 355; — *d'Orbigny*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 404.

² *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 244; — *Molina*, Op. cit. p. 69.

³ *Beecham*, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, p. 207.

⁴ *Parkinson*, A Note on the Efik and Ekoi Tribes; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1907, p. 266.

⁵ *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 306.

⁶ *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 307.

⁷ *Allen and Thomson*, The Expedition to the River Niger, vol. I, p. 325.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 326.

⁹ *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale, p. 113.

political organization was theocratic. »Malgré leur fierté guerrière, ils subissaient l'influence des marabouts, qu'ils chargèrent de tous les soins du gouvernement». ¹ Similarly, describing these institutions in Futa Djallon, Hecquard states: — »L'almami, à la fois roi et grand-prêtre, juge toutes les affaires en dernier ressort». He presides over the meetings of the old men, who decide all matters of importance. Thus, »l'almami ne peut faire la guerre, car le conseil a le droit de lui refuser des hommes et des subsides». ² On the other hand, in Bondu, »l'almami est à la fois chef de la religion et de l'Etat; seulement ce prince est absolu et règne affranchi de tout contrôle». ³ Besides, these chiefs have a council of elders to settle the matters together with themselves. ⁴ As for war, »il est rare que ces chefs se fassent à la guerre», ⁵ they appoint special war leaders. ⁶ Speaking of the Cross River Negroes, Mr. Partridge asserts that among them the magicians and the chiefs are the officiating priests at religious ceremonies; ⁷ hence the chiefs are looked upon as semi-divine persons vested with magic influence. ⁸ Lenz observes that among the warlike Fans the chief of a village or of a group of villages is at the same time the *Oganga*, and he is thus, the author remarks, a priestly king. ⁹ This holds good also of the Ininga Negroes. ¹⁰ In earlier times Angoy was governed by women-chiefs, who at the same time performed religious ceremonies. ¹¹ In Ondonga, according to the Finnish missionary

¹ *Hecquard*, Op. cit. p. 314.

² Op. cit. p. 317; cf. p. 359.

³ Op. cit. p. 389.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 113 sq., 380.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 187.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 188.

⁷ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 294.

⁸ *Partridge*, Op. cit. pp. 315, 318, 322.

⁹ *Lenz*, Skizzen aus Westafrika, p. 87.

¹⁰ *Lenz*, Op. cit. p. 204.

¹¹ *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 217; cf. p. 250. — See also vol. II, pp. 23, 40, passim.

Mr. Rautanen, the chief appointed special war leaders to conduct the operations.¹ The Ba-Yaka of the Congo Free State are ruled by a hereditary chief whose power is absolute, and who at the same time is the principal magician.² Similarly among the Ba-Yanzi, the great chiefs are, as a rule, the head fetish-men.³ Messrs. Torday and Joyce point out that one of them was »considered the greatest magician in the country».⁴

According to Mr. Kidd,⁵ the Kafirs have hereditary chiefs vested with great magical power. Speaking of the Basutos, Casalis states that they had some chiefs who had attained their dignity »by force of arms, but the greater number are the descendants of those families of the tribes who claim the right of primogeniture». Moreover, these peoples had »an almost superstitious respect for their sovereigns».⁶ On the other hand, special men were entrusted with the command of the fighting forces.⁷ Among the Wadoe⁸ the wizards are village chiefs. Similarly among the Wagogo and Wetumba, »offices of priest and chief are united in the same person».⁹ In his description of the social organization of the Masai, Dr. Thomson states that they are divided into »about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes and numerous smaller tribes». The head of the tribe, who is called *lybon*, is above all a medicine-man. »The efficacy of the *lybon*, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his

¹ Steinmetz, Rechtsverhältnisse, p. 336.

² Torday and Joyce, Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1906, p. 51.

³ Torday and Joyce, On the Ethnology of S. W. Congo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 139; cf. p. 141.

⁴ Torday and Joyce, Op. cit. p. 140.

⁵ Kidd, The Essential Kafir, pp. 13, 307; — cf. McLean, Kafir Laws, p. 23; — Garbutt, Native Witchcraft; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 535, 541, 548.

⁶ Casalis, The Basutos, p. 214.

⁷ Casalis, Op. cit. p. 222.

⁸ Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIV, p. 361; cf. p. 359.

⁹ Cole, The Wagogo; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 338.

own, but in his power of intercession with *Ngai*, who works through him and imparts magical virtues to various objects». ¹ On the other hand, warfare is conducted by »an elder» or »a senior warrior» ² or »*el oinok*», ³ because the hereditary head ⁴ of the tribe is not any more than his nearest relatives, allowed to take part in active hostilities. ⁵ With regard to the fact that this form of the political organization of the Masai is merely of a late growth, whilst they formerly were governed by an *ol airohani*, ⁶ it should be noticed that the change cannot have been a considerable one, as their organization has still those features which are characteristic of the chieftainship among the natives of Africa in general. ⁷ The change must have been limited to the substitution of Kidonoi and his successors for the old ruling family, and the means by which this trick was carried out was simply the clever whim of Kidonoi in declaring himself to be the chosen of the Lord. A similar political organization was prevalent among the Nandi, says Captain Vandeleur. ⁸ The government of the Karaguahs is an absolute despotism. The

¹ *Thomson*, Masai Land, p. 260. — Captain Merker observes of the Masai chiefs: — »Despotismus und Grausamkeit, wie wir sie bei alten Neger-Herrschern finden, ist ihm fremd. Er ist weniger ein Regierender als vielmehr ein Nationalheiliger oder ein Patriarch, von seiner geheiligten Person spricht das Volk in scheuer Ehrfurcht und kein Unberufener wagt es, dem Gewaltigen unter die Augen zu treten». — *Die Masai*, p. 18. — Similarly, Mr. Baumann affirms: — »der oberste Laibon, gewissermassen ein Masai Papst». — *Durch Masailand*, p. 164. — Cf. *Hinde*, Last of the Masai, p. 22; — *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 830; — *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 109.

² *Hinde*, Last of the Masai, p. 58; — *Thomson*, Op. cit. p. 254.

³ *Johnston*, Op. cit. II, p. 810; — *Merker*, Op. cit. p. 86.

⁴ *Merker*, Op. cit. pp. 19, 274.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 18.

⁶ *Merker*, Op. cit. p. 273; — cf. *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 834 sq.

⁷ In addition to the quotations above made, cf. also *Kallenberg*, Auf dem Kriegspfad gegen die Massai, p. 93 sq.

⁸ *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 117; — cf. *Johnston*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 882 sq.

chief is not only the ruler of his people; he practises also the magic arts.¹ Among the Vatauru the rank of witch-doctor is hereditary; the chiefs, above all the *Sagiro*, whom all the Watauru recognize as their masters, »are nothing else than High-Priests».² On the other hand, among the Wafiumi the witch-doctor decides when warfare is to be entered upon, and he also acts as the leader of the enterprise.³ Speaking of other peoples related to the Masai, the Wambugwe and Warangi, Baumann maintains that the original form of government among them was »the family republic» as it still exists in the district of Wabwa. The prodigious (ungeheure) power of the witch-doctors, as well as the hereditary character of their rank enable them easily to become petty rulers or chiefs.⁴ Yet the power of the chief is largely limited by the council of elders which has to give its consent in most matters.⁵ As to the Avemba, the king generally acted as intermediary between his people and the local guardian spirits *milungu*; he sent sacrifices and prayed to the spirits of his ancestors on their behalf, »though he left the management of the ritual to the priest».⁶ Among the Bahima,⁷ Acholi,⁸ and Kikuyu,⁹ chiefs were generally medicine-men.

Describing the Sandeh Negroes, Schweinfurth writes: — »Notwithstanding the general warlike spirit displayed by the Niam-niam, it is a very singular fact that the chieftains very rarely lead their own people into actual engagement». They are accustomed to lie concealed in anxious suspense in order to be

¹ *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 118.

² *Baumann*, *Durch Massailand*, p. 173.

³ Op. cit. p. 179.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 187.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 188.

⁶ *Sheane*, *Avemba Religion and Superstitious Observances*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 154.

⁷ *Johnston*, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. II, p. 632.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 779.

⁹ *Tate*, *Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1904, p. 263.

ready at once to run away with their wives and treasures if the war expedition happens to prove disastrous.¹ Among the Galla the chiefs who bear the title of *keyn*, *heütsh*, *lubo*, or *mooty*, are elected,² yet on them devolves the duty of performing sacrifices.³ As regards the Bageshu inhabiting the regions of Mount Elgon, the chiefs of the clans perform the sacrifices and ceremonies in connection with the initiation festivities.⁵ Similarly the warlike Latookas,⁵ Wakamba,⁶ and Wanyoro⁷ are ruled by chiefs who profess to be initiated into the secret arts of sorcery and magic. Hence, in speaking of the political organization of the natives over the whole of East and part of West Africa, Sir H. H. Johnston writes with reference to the Bantu word *Ba-fumo* as follows: — »This is a very interesting point. The singular of this word would be 'mu-fumo'. This is a widespread word all through East Africa, from Zanzibar and the opposite coast land down to the Zambezi and across the southern half of Africa to parts of the Congo and Angola. It is perhaps the most widely-spread Bantu word, meaning 'chief'. Some have thought that this word was connected with a root meaning 'spear' in some Bantu languages; but it would seem from survival in such an archaic dialect as Kavirondo that the original meaning of the word was 'medicine man' just as the big chiefs among the Masai are also the great medicine men». ⁸

¹ *Schweinfurth*, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. II, p. 22; — *Featherman*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 25.

² *Faetherman*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 782.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 784. »The *lubo* who conduct the sacrifices and prayers act also as augurs and soothsayers». According to Jerome Lobo, who visited the Galla people in 1622, the title of the chief was *lubo*. — *Lobo*, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 11.

⁴ *Roscoe*, *Notes on the Bageshu*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, pp. 185 sq., 194.

⁵ *Featherman*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 82.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 111.

⁸ *Johnston*, *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. II, p. 750. Bastian is of the same opinion that »das alle primitiven Staatsverhältnisse durchwaltende

This character of chieftainship is to be found among many Mohammedan communities also. Among the Kabyls, the villages are governed by the *thedjemâith* or *djemâa*, and the meetings of this village assembly are presided over by *l'amin* or the elected chief¹ of the community, who belongs to one of the most influential families. His duties are above all those of a peace chief. »Il prend les mesures nécessaires à sa sûreté, surveille ses intérêts, prévoit ses besoins, maintient l'ordre, et fait rentrer dans la bonne voie ceux qui voudraient s'en écarter». ² As regards warfare, he is the leader of his own men,³ whereas the war leader of the tribe »est un fonctionnaire nommé pendant la guerre par les notables». ⁴ Similarly, »l'amin de la confederation est nommé dans les mêmes circonstances». ⁵ Thus only the office of village chiefs is permanent. ⁶ — In his description of the political organization of the inhabitants of Madagascar previous to the French rule, Ellis states that »the king of Madagascar in addition to his other dignities and responsibilities is high-priest of the realm». ⁷ According to an old story this order of thing was due to the fact that »a king of ancient times, observing the influence obtained by masters of families in consequence of their acting as their own priests and consecrating their own

Priesterkönigthum stand auch in ganz Afrika in Kraft». *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. II, p. 230. — Cf. also *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 166, passim; — *Steinmetz*, Rechtsverhältnisse, pp. 42, 117, 167, no distinction between peace chief and war leader; as to the division, see passim; — *Roscoe*, Baganda, pp. 134, 186, passim; — *Speke*, Discovery of the Sources of the Nile, pp. 146, 168, 180 sq., 197, 213, 218, 226, 279, 289, 298, 335, 349, 351, 392, 407, 418, 426, 450; — *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 277 sqq.; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, pp. 241, 256.

¹ *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 7.

² Op. cit. p. 26.

³ Op. cit. p. 27.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 68.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 69.

⁶ Op. cit. pp. 28—33.

⁷ *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 359.

household gods, adopted the idea of consecrating an idol for the people, calling them his family and children». ¹

As regards chieftainship among the Maori, the descriptions given by our authorities differ somewhat from one another. Thus speaking of the ruling families of the Maori, Mr. Hammond ² states, »The eldest brother of the oldest families ranked as *Tumu whakarae* or king. ³ The younger brother, if suitable by force and intelligence, took the position of *ariki* or priest, and it generally prevailed that the son succeeded to the father's position». In another description the same author maintains: — »*Tumu whakarae* was the person of highest rank, the ruler and supreme head of the tribe. He never moved from home and was always well guarded». Further, »the *ariki* came next in rank and was usually of the same reigning family as the *Tumu whakarae*, often the second son in the family, and to his official was entrusted the sacred lore of the tribe». ⁴ According to Dieffenbach ⁵ and Colenso ⁶ the *ariki* ⁷ was a tribal chief »the first-born (male or female) by the eldest branch; the lineal heir or heiress». On the other hand, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes that the *ariki* or first-born son in some exalted line of descent »was a priest besides

¹ *Ellis*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 397.

² *Hammond*, *Atua Maori*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 90.

³ In the Maori language *Tumu* means »a chief or principal person; the master of the territory». In the other Polynesian languages it means origin, root, source, etc. In Hawaiian language it is »applied to chiefs because they nourished or fed men». In Mangareva language it means father etc. — See *Tregear*, *Comparative Dictionary*, p. 551 sq.

⁴ *Hammond*, *The Tohunga Maori*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XVII, p. 165.

⁵ *Dieffenbach*, *Travels in New Zealand*, vol. II, p. 412.

⁶ *Colenso*, *Maori Races*; in *Trans. New Zealand Institute*, vol. I, p. 21.

⁷ »*Ariki*, a first-born, male or female, in a family of note; hence chief; priest . . . A leader . . . A title of the chief in the *Wharekura* (temple); next in dignity after the high-priest». — »*Wharekura* = a kind of college or school in which the sons of priest chiefs (*ariki*) were anciently taught . . . The *Wharekura* appears sometimes to have been used as a council chamber or hall of parliament, where the chiefs of tribes assembled». — *Tregear*, Op. cit. p. 613.

being the hereditary chief of his clan». He had peculiar powers, and accordingly on him devolved certain religious duties which none other could perform. »It is true», Mr. Smith adds, »that the *ariki* might not be a man of wisdom or an able leader, but nevertheless he did not thereby lose his high position in the tribe». The priestly character of this chieftainship is shown also by the fact that the »first-born daughter of a long line of chiefs called a *tapairu* (sometimes a *marei-kura*) alone could perform parts of certain ceremonies, and hence was she a priestess». ¹ Mr. Gudgeon affirms that the chiefs were simply »elevated by the voice of the tribe in a position of authority». ² Yet even he admits that »the *ariki* as the eldest born of the tribe is sacred and regarded almost as a god»; ³ and in another connection: — »he was of old regarded almost as a god inasmuch as he represented all that there was of *mana* and sacredness of his tribe; he was the shrine of an hereditary *Atua*, the guardian spirit of the tribe, and could therefore at any time communicate with the tribal gods». ⁴ And Polack observes that among the most influential in a native assembly are those who »unite in their own persons the hereditary power of chieftainship and adoption of the priesthood». ⁵ On the other hand, concerning the leader of war expeditions we read that he was »not necessarily an *ariki* . . .

¹ *Smith*, Tohunga Maori; in *Traus. New Zealand Institute*, vol. XXXII, p. 268.

² *Gudgeon*, Maori Wars; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XVI, p. 34.

³ *Loc. cit.* — »In the good olden days . . . the *tohunga* was by far the most important man in a Maori tribe, and this was especially the case when it happened that the same man combined the exalted rank as a chief with the priestly power and knowledge with which all *tohungas* were gifted. Given this combination of rank and knowledge, and such a man would be known as the *Ariki*, or supreme head of the tribe». — *Gudgeon*, The Tohunga Maori; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XVI, p. 63; cf. p. 66.

⁴ *Gudgeon*, Maori Religion; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XIV., p. 114; *Idem*, Tipua Kura; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XV, p. 38.

⁵ *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. I. p. 147; cf. vol. I, pp. 23 sqq., 40, 59; vol. II, pp. 211, 245; — *Shortland*, Maori Religion, p. 27 sq.

although by his renown as a warrior he may have gained great influence over the tribe». ¹ Similarly Mr. Elsdon Best observes: — »A chief endowed with great prestige in war, or with a supposed supernatural power — as the *waka* or medium of a war god — might become leader of the collected tribal divisions in war. But on the conclusion of the fighting his temporary authority over the whole tribe would end, or be much lessened». ² This is the view of some other authors also. Ordinarily the *ariki* were not war captains and they were not required, unless prompted by their own inclination, to join the war party. ³ Hence, it was but rarely that the troops were commanded by their *ariki* in person. ⁴

From these statements it appears that the *ariki*, in some tribes at least, were the hereditary peace chiefs of the communities, and that they were also priests and sacred personages, on account of their descent and their supposed connections with their ancestors. This is also corroborated by the tradition that when the Maori first arrived at New Zealand from their mythical native country Hawaiki, the leader was also their chief priest. ⁵ At the same time, as we have seen, it did not devolve on the *ariki* in virtue of their position to act as war leaders; on the contrary, it was persons who had distinguished themselves as great

¹ *Dieffenbach*, Travels in New Zealand, vol. II, p. 115.

² *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 40.

³ *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 198.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 203; cf. also *Dieffenbach*, Travels, vol. II, p. 112; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 34. — Speaking of the Ngati-Porou tribe, Mr. Gudgeon asserts that their chief Te-Kania-Teikirou »was not a warrior, but nevertheless the greatest chief of New Zealand». — The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 238.

⁵ *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 39. — See also *Cowan*, The Coming of Tainui; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 96 sq.; — *Smith*, The Tohunga Maori; in Trans. New Zealand Institute, vol. XXXII, p. 255 sq.

warriors or priests, as representatives of war gods, that commanded the war expeditions.¹

In his description of the natives of Rarotonga, Mr. S. Percy Smith gives information from which it seems reasonable to conclude that their chiefs have since remote ages been at the same time religious rulers. When Tangua came about 1250 A. D. to Rarotonga from Tahiti, this chief proceeded at once to build many *marae* or enclosures for his gods, »to each of which he appointed guardians whose names are given, many of which are borne by the *mataipos*² or chiefs at this day». ³ Similarly one of his contemporaries, Iro a son of Pou-ariki, was skilled in various sorts of magic, incantations, ceremonies, etc. all of which he learnt from his father.⁴ The chieftainship had been hereditary within the Makea family since the thirteenth century,⁵ and at the present day the ruling *ariki* is still the chief pontiff.⁶ In early times the inhabitants of Niue had no other form of government than the rule of the chiefs of families. Later on however — as Mr. S. Percy Smith thinks, through outside influence, probably through communications with Tonga or Samoa — the people acquired the institution of »kingship». One of the leading families was chosen by the whole of the people to become *apatu-iki*⁷ or the chief of chiefs.⁸ On the *apatu-iki* devolved the duty of presiding over the *fono* or council of the minor

¹ This bi-partition of the Maori chieftainship has been likewise pointed out by *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 266 sq.

² *Smith*, *Arai-Te-Tonga*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 218. The *ariki* means high chief; the *mataipos* minor chiefs.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 36; cf. p. 38.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 40 sq.

⁵ *Smith*, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 61.

⁶ *Smith*, *Arai-Te-Tonga*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 219; — *Meinicke*, *Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans*, vol. II, p. 147.

⁷ *Smith*, *Niue Island and its People*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XI, p. 170.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

chiefs¹ and of performing certain religious functions. »I witnessed», says Mr. Smith, »an ancient custom in which the present king Tokia took part and acted in what may be called the chief priest's office». ² In the custody of the *apatu-iki* was also the sacred object which brought blessing upon the whole island.³ As regards the leadership of war expeditions, the *patu* or family chiefs acted in this capacity in former days.⁴ According to Mariner, the Tongans were ruled by a great divine chief or *Tooi Tonga* and a minor divine chief *Veachi*, both of whom were superior to the war captain.⁵ In their prayers it was counted as a merit for the war chief to have been obedient to the sacerdotal rulers.⁶ Gradually, however, this order of things changed. The war chieftainship, observes the French Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, was not established till comparatively late times, when wars became frequent. At the end of the eighteenth century the chiefs were already fighting each other,⁷ and finally after the death of the old *Tooi Tonga*, Finow junior, on becoming war chief about 1810, entirely abolished the sacerdotal rule.⁸ Meinicke states that in Tahiti the chief priest elected the king.⁹ According to other observers, Ellis¹⁰ and Jurien de la Gravière,¹¹ the chief was at the same time the chief priest. Thus the king of whom Meinicke speaks was certainly a mere

¹ Op. cit. p. 175.

² Op. cit. p. 198.

³ *Smith*, Op. cit. p. 176.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 178.

⁵ *Mariner*, *The Natives of the Tonga Islands*, vol. I, p. 132; cf. also pp. 119, 130 sq., 195, 342; — *Bastian*, *Die deutsche Expedition*, vol. II, p. 288; — *Meinicke*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 81.

⁶ *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 96; vol. II, p. 213; — *Featherman*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 119, 128.

⁷ *Jurien de la Gravière*, *Souvenirs d'un amiral*, vol. I, p. 186 sq.

⁸ *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 2 sq., 81 sq., 144; — *Erskine*, *The Islands of the Western Pacific*, p. 126 sq.

⁹ *Meinicke*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 180.

¹⁰ *Ellis*, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. I, pp. 64, 79 sq.

¹¹ *Jurien de la Gravière*, *Loc. cit.*

war leader. In Samoa the chiefs were of old considered peculiarly sacred; in fact all the chiefs, whether heads of families or petty chiefs of villages or still higher chiefs, were priests in virtue of their office.¹ Turner states that in Tokelau Island the *Tui Tokelau* or king »was high priest as well»,² and the same was the case, too, in the Humphrey Islands.³ In the Sandwich Islands the king »personating the god uttered the responses of the oracle»,⁴ and at the same time he also acted as commander of the army, or appointed some other person in his place.⁵

Taking the political organization of Mbau as a characteristic instance of the constitution of Fijian communities, Mr. Basil Thomson observes that first in rank was the *Roko Tui Mbau*, or sacred lord of Mbau, who never engaged personally in war.⁶ Next in rank came the *Vu-ni-Valu*, or Root of War, or Skilled in War.⁷ While the office of the former was based upon old patriarchal organization and hereditary succession,⁸ that of the latter was of comparatively late growth.⁹ Similar information about the government of the Fijians has been given by many other observers.¹⁰ As regards the Mountain tribes

¹ Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp. 241, 342; — *Idem*, *Samoa*, p. 18 sqq.; — Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 106, 108, 110. — Meinicke writes: — »In jedem Dorfe war der oberste Häuptling Priester des Dorfgottes». Op. cit. vol. II, p. 114.

² Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 268, 270 sq.

³ Turner, Op. cit. p. 278.

⁴ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. II, p. 235; — see also pp. 206, 208 sq., 217; — Jurien de la Gravière, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 186 sq.

⁵ Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 124.

⁶ Thomson, *The Fijians*, p. 61.

⁷ Thomson, Op. cit. p. 61; cf. p. 23.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 57 sqq., 355 sq.

⁹ Op. cit. pp. 60, 366.

¹⁰ »The sacred king was called *Roko Tui Bau* (»The revered king of Bau»), who seems to have been connected by office with gods His person was peculiarly sacred. He never personally engaged in war Next in rank was the more powerful, though somewhat less sacred, king called *Na Vu-ni Valu* (»The Root of War») He was the commander in times of war, the great state executive officer in seasons of commotion,

of Vitu-levu, who are said not to make wars of conquest, the chief, to whom religious veneration also is paid, can issue no important orders without the consent of the elders.¹ In Nateva Island the *turanga levu* was the »great chief«, while *turanga ni avalu* was the »fighting chief«.² In New Caledonia, although a firmly-established feudal system prevailed, the »hierarchical« chiefs did not take direct part in warlike activities, which were in the charge of special war leaders.³ In his description of the Roro-speaking tribes in New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann states that each clan or local group of a clan has its headman or *ovia itsipana*, and next to him comes a second chief or *ovia awarina*, who fulfils certain functions of his own and enforces the orders of the former chiefs.⁴ Moreover, each community has one or more war chiefs, *ovia ahuahū*, »who were never clan chiefs (*ovia itsipana*) but on the other hand were generally, though perhaps not invariably, *ovia awarina*«. In fact, the author adds, these latter were »so generally confused with *ovia ahuahū* that it is a question whether any *ovia awarina* was not formerly a potential or actual war chief«. Yet these war chiefs must not be confused with the *paiha* war chiefs who are »experts in battle magic and who assure success in war«.⁵ The *ovia ahuahū* was merely »the organiser of his clan in war«, and his authority on the battlefield was entirely subordinated to that of the *paiha* chief who was »responsible for the disposition of the whole force while in the presence of an enemy«. As for these *paiha* chiefs, the same author proceeds, it must be noted that apart from their magical functions, »*paiha* chiefs are either *ovia itsipana* or *ovia awarina*»

and the prime minister of all the political departments«. — *Waterhouse*, The king and People of Fiji, p. 14; — *Seeman*, Viti, p. 263; — *Erskine*, Op. cit. p. 246 sq.; — *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, pp. 23 sqq., 219; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 267.

¹ *Erskine*, Op. cit. p. 430.

² Loc. cit.

³ *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, pp. 207, 243 sq., 245.

⁴ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 216.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 217.

Moreover, the rank of *ovia itsipana* was hereditary, even in the female line. The latter office was not always hereditary.¹ The Mekeo have hereditary clan chiefs (*lopia fäa*), hereditary war leaders (*io lopia*), and priestly war experts (*faia lopia*), who exercise their power »to give victory to the community».² The hereditary peace chief (*lopia fäa*) »would not as a rule take any part in a fight, unless the battle were the result of a surprise attack at night».³ A more or less similar division of the functions of the chiefs is to be met with among other natives of New Guinea, too.⁴ Thus, e. g., the Mafulu mountain people have hereditary clan chiefs, but no special war chiefs. On the eve of battle »the leadership will generally fall upon someone who at the moment is regarded as a strong and wise fighter»; at any rate the permanent clan chiefs »are not war chiefs».⁵ According to Codrington, »a Florida *Vunagi*» (*i. e.* chief) »kept order in his place, directed the common operations and industries, represented his people with strangers, presided at sacrifices, and led in war».⁶ On the other hand, at Saa the chief's power was derived from his descent. He might be acquainted with magical knowledge and supernatural beings, and was »in fact pretty sure to have them but no wealth or success in war could make a man a chief at Saa if not born of the chief's family».⁷ As for other neighbouring communities, the power of the chiefs »lies entirely in the belief that they have communications with

¹ Op. cit. p. 218; cf. pp. 218 n, 220, 261, 295.

² Op. cit. p. 342; cf. p. 367.

³ Op. cit. p. 344. See also *Seligmann* and *Strong*, Anthropo-geographical Investigations in New Guinea; in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. XXVIII, 1906, p. 233.

⁴ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 373, 456, 692, 697; — *Meinicke*, vol. I, p. 127 sqq.; — *Dempfwolff*, Aussterbende Naturvölker; in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 403; — *Abel*, Savage Life, pp. 37, 138.

⁵ *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 19 sqq.; cf. pp. 114, 125 sq., 144 sqq., 165 sq., 182.

⁶ *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 47.

⁷ *Codrington*, Op. cit. p. 50 sq.

supernatural ghosts, *tindalo*, and have the *mana*, whereby they are able to bring the power of the *tindalo* to bear». Moreover, they may make their sons, nephews, or grandsons acquainted with this skill, and a hereditary succession is thereby established. ¹

Speaking generally, there are abundant statements to the effect that all over the Southern Pacific native chiefs are above all peace chiefs vested with the duties of a civil and sacerdotal character, while war operations are led mainly by experts chosen by reason of their skill and force. ²

According to the Spanish missionaries, the aborigines of the Philippines were divided into clans having chiefs of their own. These chiefs, or *ba-ganis*, performed religious functions and were the leaders of war expeditions. ³ In Celebes the priestly duty devolved on the *kabosenja* or the chiefs ⁴ of the savage villages. Among the Dyaks of Borneo the *Orang Kaya* was the hereditary ⁵ chief of the tribe. He made the offerings on behalf of his community; on the other hand, special leaders acted as the commanders of war parties. This is true not merely of the Sea Dyaks ⁶ as well as of the Land Dyaks, ⁷ but also of the nomadic Punans, whose tribal chiefs were similarly called *Orang Kaya*. ⁸ Moreover, certain communities at any rate, had also special trading chiefs who were anxious to prevent war. ⁹ Among the Bataks of Sumatra the village chiefs are as a rule priests

¹ Op. cit. p. 52; cf. pp. 120, 132.

² For further particulars see e. g. *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches, vol. II, pp. 431, 346 sq., 359, 486; — *Jurien de la Gravière*, Souvenirs d'un amiral, vol. I, p. 186 sq.; — *Meinicke*, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans, vol. I, p. 66; vol II, pp. 117, 376, 381; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, pp. 267 sq., 270 sq., 298, passim

³ *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62.

⁴ *Sarasin*, Celebes, vol. I, pp. 227, 335; vol. II, p. 130; cf. p. 122.

⁵ *Boyle*, Adventures, p. 218.

⁶ *Low*, Sarawak, p. 183 sq.; cf. pp. 193, 209.

⁷ Op. cit. pp. 251 sq., 255, 288 sqq.

⁸ *Furness*, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 179 sq.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 185.

also; ¹ they are assisted by the council of elders in all matters of importance. Although the villages generally constitute independent communities, yet the Bataks acknowledge the supremacy of a single chief, who maintains no outer appearance of superior civil or military power. His supremacy is founded purely on supernatural considerations, hence his title *Cartuwah*, or »invested with supernatural power.» ² In his description of the wild tribes of the Malay peninsula, Mr. Skeat states that among the tribes which belong to the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun groups, »the chiefs of the tribe were often, if not always, medicine men or magicians, their power in this respect being greatly feared.» ³ As for the tribes in Selangor Pahang, and other parts of Negri Sembilan and of Sungei Ujong, these often have three different chiefs. The *Batin*, or the highest, is »respected by the people as their head». The right of succession to the chieftainship »descends to the eldest male child of the late chief's sister». These tribes possess no idea of warfare, affirms Mr. Knocker, ⁴ and evidently therefore have no war captain. Even as late as the middle of the last century Siam was ruled by a superior and a minor king. ⁵ The latter was above all the mili-

¹ *Burton and Ward*, Batak Country in the Interior of Sumatra; in Trans. R. Asiatic Soc. vol. I, p. 513.

² *Op. cit.* p. 512.

³ *Skeat*, The Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1902, p. 136.

⁴ *Knocker*, The Aborigines in Sungei Ujong; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1907, p. 293 sq.

⁵ Although in China as well as in Japan the government known to history owed its origin to causes characteristic of a later stage of political development, their leading traits were, however, largely influenced by those characteristics of primitive chieftainship with which we have been dealing in this chapter. Thus, in China the Emperors were, since the most remote times, the spiritual rulers of the people, also performing all the most important sacrifices to their tutelary gods. Cf. *Medhurst*, Ancient China, pp. 128, 140, 176, 182 sq, 191, 211, 217, 222, 255 sqq., 301, 353, 371 sqq., 378 sqq.; — *Chavannes*, Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. I, pp. 37, 40, 138, 207 sqq.; vol. II, pp. 95 n, 514; vol. III. p. 205 sqq., passim. —

tary commander. This order of things had prevailed since remote ages.¹ The clan chiefs of the Meitheis in Manipur »are priests and assume charge of the tribal worship, while the *Raja*, the head of the whole confederacy, is the high priest of the country». ² Next in rank to these chiefs is »the *Senapati* or commander-in-chief». ³ Among the Kukis and Lushais, the clan chief is »looked upon with the greatest respect and almost superstitious veneration». ⁴ He performs all the sacrifices; ⁵ in fact, »he is much more a priest than a potentate». ⁶ Speaking of the Bodo and Dhimal tribes, Mr. Hodgson observes that »it is not improbable there was a time when the civil heads of the community were likewise its ecclesiastical directors». ⁷ There is much reason to believe that the political organization of the other neighbouring communities, such as the Santals, ⁸ Khands, ⁹

As for Tibet, see *Waddell*, On the origin of the Grand Lamas; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc.* 1910, vol. I, p. 70 sqq.

Until the great revolution in 1868, the civil and sacerdotal duties in Japan were vested in the *Dairi* or *Mikado*, while the *Shogun* acted as military ruler. — Cf. »Japan. Eine Schilderung . . » pp. 20 sqq., 31, 35, 39; — *Murray*, Japan, pp. 126 sqq., 141 n, 148 sqq., 277, 429; — *Quarterly Review*, July, 1904, p. 269; — *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XI, p. 824 sqq.; — *Okuma*, Fifty Years of New Japan, vol. II, p. 579.

¹ *Bowring*, The Kingdom and People of Siam, vol. I, p. 446.

² *Hodson*, The Meitheis, p. 109; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Manipur; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1901, p. 303 sq.

³ *Hodson*, The Meitheis, p. 60.

⁴ *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 625. — »The Kuki chief is conspicuously the secular head of his village». — *Hodson*, Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam; in *Folk-Lore*, vol. XX, p. 132 sq.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* — *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 45; — *Shakespeare*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, p. 374.

⁶ *Stewart*, *Op. cit.* p. 620.

⁷ *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. XVIII, part II, p. 721; — cf. *Dalton*, *Op. cit.* p. 85.

⁸ *Hunter*, *Rural Bengal*, vol. I, p. 216 sq.: — *Dalton*, *Op. cit.* p. 213.

⁹ *Dalton*, *Op. cit.* p. 295.

Korwas,¹ Karens,² Mundaris,³ Kumis,⁴ Chukmas,⁵ and others⁶ has been similar to those described above.

A peculiar form of government exists among the inhabitants of the Chumbi Valley. According to Mr. Walsh, it has been in force »from time immemorial, and is probably of very great antiquity». ⁷ The villages are governed by elected *Tshopas*, or village chiefs, while two elected *Kongdus* constitute the government of the entire community. These *Kongdus*, however, maintain that they hold their office by the direct will of the local deity *Yat Lha*, who is supposed to have conducted the election. ⁸ Their duties are civil and religious at the same time. ⁹ Among the Cohatars living in the Neilgherry Hills, the man who has charge of the temples and is the officiator at the festivals »is among themselves considered not only as their priest, but as their chief or head». ¹⁰ As for the Todas, their government is based upon clan organization and the priestly management of all important matters. ¹¹ No war leaders are required, as the tribe does not carry on any wars.

The earliest known political conditions in Chaldea show us the country divided into small States, each headed by a city made famous through the sanctuary or temple of the local

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 229.

² *Op. cit.* p. 116.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 165, 168.

⁴ *Lewin*, Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 91.

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 67, 69.

⁶ *Dalton*, *Op. cit.* pp. 60, 159, 186, 247. See also *Lewin*, *Op. cit.* pp. 37, 80, 84, 88, 94, 96, 102; — *Hodson*, *The Naga Tribes*, pp. 73, 79.

⁷ *Walsh*, *Elective Government in Chumbi Valley*; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1906, p. 103.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 304 sq.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 306 sq.

¹⁰ *Harkness*, *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 76.

¹¹ *Rivers*, *The Todas*, pp. 34 sqq., 504 sq., 643 sq., 679 sq., 183, 203, 446 sqq., 271 sq., 452, 556 sq., 550; — *Harkness*, *Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 17, 20, 63 sq., 66; — *Marshall*, *The Todas*, pp. 17, 20, 42, 123, 136, 156, 234; — *Shortt*, *Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries*; in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. VII, p. 241.

deity, and ruled by a *patesi*, a title which is thought to mean priest-king.¹ Of a similar character was the early political organization in Assyria also.² When the kingship was established among the Hebrews its duties were above all military, while the prophets or priestly rulers of the State carefully guarded their supreme privileges.³

There seems to be little doubt that the early Greeks were ruled by chiefs who were charged with duties not different from those we have already found to be prevalent among other primitive societies. Aristotle states that the oldest form of Greek kingship was purely patriarchal.⁴ The kings were religious, civil, and military rulers at the same time.⁵ According to Grote⁶ »the king is spoken of as constituted by Zeus the great judge of the society. He has received from Zeus the sceptre, and along with it the powers of command and sanction». Hence, as Fustel de Coulanges observes:⁷ — »Ce ne fut donc pas la force qui fit les chefs et les rois dans ces anciennes cités. Il ne serait pas vrai de dire que le premier qui y fut roi fut un soldat heureux. L'autorité découla du culte du foyer». ⁸ Thus, in Sparta, says Herodotus⁹, the two hereditary kings made offerings to *Zeus Lacedaimon* and *Zeus Uranius*, and kept in memory prophecies and oracular answers. Moreover, they were judges in many

¹ *Ragozin*, Chaldea, pp. 204, 235.

² *Ragozin*, Assyria, pp. 2, 10, 15.

³ *Ragozin*, Assyria, p. 10: — *Tacitus*, History, V, 3, 8; — I. Samuel, VIII, 20.

⁴ Grote justly remarks: — »The political condition which Grecian legend everywhere presents to us is in its principal feature strikingly different from that which had become universally prevalent among the Greeks in the time of the Peloponnesian war». — History of Greece, vol. II, p. 3.

⁵ *Aristotle*, Politics, III. 14.

⁶ *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 15; cf. pp. 5, sq., 16.

⁷ *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 225; cf. pp. 204 sq., 228 sq.

⁸ See also *Tittman*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 83; — *Frazer*, Early History of Kingship, pp. 29, 34; — *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 303.

⁹ *Herodotus*, History, VI, 56 sq.

cases and presided at the assembly of elders. In war they acted as leaders,¹ yet their authority was, at any rate, based more upon divine and hereditary right than upon warlike activity.² »Their pre-eminent lineage«, Grote observes, »connected the entire State with a divine paternity«, and through their monthly sacrifices they ensured divine protection to the whole community.³ In Athens, of the nine *Archons*, three were of a higher rank. The *Archon Eponymos* determined all disputes relative to the family, the gens and the phratry; he was the legal protector of orphans and widows. The *Archon Basileus* enjoyed authority in complaints respecting offences against religious sentiments and in cases of homicide. The *Polemarch* was the leader of the army and a judge in disputes between citizens and non-citizens. Moreover, each of these *Archons* had particular religious festivals assigned to him, which it was his duty to superintend.⁴ Previous to the establishment of these nine *Archons* annually elected, Athens was ruled by one hereditary *Archon*, and still earlier by hereditary kings.⁵ It is most probable that on these early kings devolved the same duties as were afterwards divided between the various *Archons*. Thus the kingship of Codrus and his predecessors was undoubtedly of the

¹ *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, II, 9, 48; IV, 2; V, 34, 66, 75; VII, 19; — Spencer points out that »it was usual for the Greek king to delegate to his heir the duty of commanding his troops«. — Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 481.

² The Spartan kings merely directed the operations, while the definite decisions devolved on the people. — *Thucydides*, History of Peloponnesian War, I, 80, 87; V, 59, 60, 63, 66; against this VIII, 5; cf. also *Tittmann*, Op. cit. p. 123.

It is also noteworthy that the Spartan kings did not command the fleet, this duty being entrusted to special captains elected for the purpose for life. — *Aristotle*, Politics, II, 9.

³ *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, pp. 274, 384; cf. *Fustel de Coulanges*, Op. cit. p. 309.

⁴ *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 448; — *Tittmann*, Op. cit. pp. 163, 232.

⁵ *Maine*, Early History, p. 35; — *Grote*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 424 sqq.

same patriarchal character¹ as we have seen prevailing in so many primitive communities.²

According to Mommsen, in early Rome »the clans were quite neutralized and it exhibited an association not of clans but of citizens». ³ Yet the election of kings lay with the council of elders, on which, in the case of a vacancy, the interim kingship devolved. These elders again were clan chiefs and the »interrex» was one of them. ⁴ The office of king might lawfully be filled by any Roman who had come of age; noble descent and kinship with earlier rulers were, however, recommendations, but not necessary conditions. ⁵ As for the duties of the king, he was the chief judge of the entire community; ⁶ he commanded the army, but he could also charge another suitable person with this duty. ⁷ Moreover, »he held intercourse with the gods of the community, whom he consulted and appeased (*auspicia publica*), and he nominated all the priests and priestesses». ⁸ As regards the real significance of this latter feature of early Roman kingship, Mommsen observes that it would at any rate be a great error to regard the Roman constitution as a theocracy because »among the Italians the ideas of god and king never faded away into each other as they did in Egypt and the East». ⁹ It should, however, be borne in mind that theocracy does not necessarily involve the idea that the ruler himself is considered to be a god. It is quite sufficient that he is supposed to derive his supreme power from divine sources, and from this point of view early Roman kingship had certainly a civil and religious rather than a warlike character. There is no information to the effect that

¹ *Fustel de Coulanges*, Op. cit. p. 224.

² For further particulars see *Curtius*, Griechische Geschichte, vol. I. p. 281; — *Farnell*, Cults of the Greek States, vol. I, pp. 41, 59, passim.

³ *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 30 sq.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 83, 96 sq., 99 sq.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 84. — Cf. *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 475.

⁶ *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 82, 189 sq.

⁷ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 83, 91.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 81, 220.

⁹ Op. cit. vol. I. p. 84.

the early rulers were elected merely on account of their military renown;¹ on the contrary, as was shown above, other persons could also be entrusted with the leadership of the army, while Mommsen himself admits that the costume of the king »was the same as that of the supreme god; the chariot even in the city, where everyone else went on foot, the ivory sceptre with the eagle, the vermilion-painted face, the chaplet of oaken leaves in gold, belonged alike to the Roman god and to the Roman king». ² So also when the kings were replaced by consuls, a new office of *rex sacrificulus* and later on that of *pontifex maximus*, were created, in order that »the gods might not miss their accustomed mediator». ³ In fact, if even so late as during the rule of the Roman Emperors the office of *pontifex maximus* became again united to that of the Emperor,⁴ how much more in

¹ Cf. *Plutarch*, Numa. — Illustrative in this respect is a comparison between Aristotle's description of the character of the Spartan kingship and Numa's remark as to the difference between a general and a king. According to the former, the kingly power with the Spartans was »chiefly that of a general», while Numa points out that Rome had far more need of a general than of a king. If the character of the kingship in these ancient States had been mainly warlike, no such distinction as these remarks indicate, could have been made. — *Aristotle*, Politics, III, 14; — *Plutarch*, Numa, 5.

² Op. cit. vol. I, p. 83 sq. — »The highest of the priests was not merely inferior in rank to the king, but might not even give advice to him unasked. It was the province of the king to determine whether and when he would take an observation of birds; the 'bird-seer' simply stood beside him and interpreted to him, when necessary, the language of the messenger of heaven». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 220. — See also *Plutarch*, Camillus, 7; — *Livy*, Hist. Libri, X, 7.

³ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 316, 324.

⁴ *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. IV, pp. 460, 491; vol. V, pp. 329, 331, 333 sq., and passim.

Barry derives the origin of Papal authority from the priestly kingship of Numa. »Theodosius gave up all pretence to be the High Priest of a heathen worship, and the title passed to the Bishops of Rome». — *Barry*, Papal Monarchy, p. 14. — Cf. also *Scholz*, Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipp des Schönen, p. 143.

primitive times, when religion had its full sway over the people¹ must the sacerdotal character have been predominant in the kingly office?²

Speaking of the early Germans, Tacitus states that the chiefs »owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited; the latter command more by warlike example than by their authority». ³ According to Caesar, the civil duties of government devolved on the chiefs of the communities, while in time of war special war captains were elected. ⁴ In his careful investigation into the political organization of the early Germans, Dahn observes that the chiefs of the republican communities ⁵ were elected on account of their nobility or wealth. ⁶ Their duties consisted in making offerings to the gods, presiding over the assemblies of their community, and, perhaps, leading their own men on war expeditions; the highest war chief of an entire tribe, the *Herzog*, ⁷ at any rate was, it is certain, elected. On the other hand, among the communities in which the chieftainship was based upon an hereditary principle, the chiefs or kings were above all sacerdotal and civil rulers, ⁸ while the war leaders were elected. ⁹ Other authors give particulars more or

¹ Cf. *Lecky*, History of European Morals, vol. I, p. 108 sq.

² *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, pp. 204 sq., 222, 228 sqq., 315 sq.; — *Frazer*, Early History of Kingship, p. 250 sq.

³ *Tacitus*, Germania, 7.

⁴ *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI, 22, 23.

⁵ According to Dahn, the republican form of early German government was due to the increase in the influence of the other families which constituted the community, when *pari passu* the old ruling family lost its earlier power. — *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 31 n.

⁶ *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 23.

⁷ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 17, 22.

⁸ *Dahn*, Zur Geschichte des Staatsbegriffs der Germanen, p. 537 sq.: — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, pp. 23, 26 sqq., 80 sqq.; passim.

⁹ *Dahn*, Die Germanen, pp. 68, 86; — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 23.

less in conformity with these views. Thus Phillips¹ and H.Müller² maintain that the early German chieftainship had above all a sacerdotal character. Lamprecht observes of the early hereditary chieftainship that it was at its origin already combined with priestly duties,³ while Kauffmann not merely lays great stress upon this character of the chieftainship among the early Germans, but distinctly maintains the theory of the predominance of their warlike duties to be an entirely wrong assumption. All warlike activities were, as a rule, foreign to the permanent chiefs, because elected war leaders were charged with the command in such undertakings.⁴ — In so far as it is possible in view of these different statements, to get a true view of the character of early German chieftainship, there seems to be much reason to suppose that the chiefs obtained their position in virtue of descent from deified ancestors,⁵ and that, when wars were waged, the leadership was generally entrusted to the most suitable warrior within the community. This is the view also

¹ *Phillips*, Deutsche Geschichte, p. 103; — Erb und Wahlrecht, pp. 8, 10; — quoted by *Dahn*, Op. cit. I, p. 27 n. 1.

² *Müller*, Lex Salica, p. 179 sq.; — quoted by *Dahn*, Loc. cit.

³ »Täuscht nicht alles so war die Verbindug von Königtum und Priestertum eine ursprüngliche . . . Ist dies der Fall, so . . . wäre sein Priestertum ein durchaus originäres, ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Königtums überhaupt«. — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 134 sqq.

⁴ »Auf die militärischen Talente kam es nach der Auffassung der Germanen beim Könige nicht eben an, denn für ihre kriegerischen Unternehmungen pflegten sie einen besonderen Heerführer zu bestellen«. — *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 218 sq., cf. p. 208, passim; — *Idem*, Altgermanische Religion; in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vol. XV, 1912, p. 618. — Cf. also *Stubbs*, Constitutional History of England, vol. I. pp. 29 sqq., 34 sqq.

⁵ »Die Funktionen des Königs sind keine andern als die des Stammesgottes, dessen Abkömmling im König sich darstellt«. — *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 218. — »It is certain that the Teutons of old held in honour nobilitas alongside of virtus, and at a later period as well attached great importance to descent from noble ancestors«. — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, The Religion of Teutons, p. 100; cf. p. 103. — See also *Dahn*, Die Germanen, p. 86. — *Nitzsch*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. I, p. 73.

of Dr. Elander,¹ who has found many important points of resemblance between the peace chieftainship and war leadership of the North American Indians and those of the early Germans.

Speaking of the early Anglo-Saxons, Freeman writes: — »Our own Old-English kings, like all other Teutonic kings, were anything but absolute rulers; the nation chose them and could depose them . . . Yet still the king, as the king, was felt to hold a rank differing in kind from the rank held by the highest of his subjects. Perhaps the distinction mainly consisted in a certain religious sentiment which attached to the person of the king and did not attach to the person of any inferior chief». ² Of the early Scandinavians, Strinnholm observes that the king of Upsala was, by virtue of his divine descent, considered the most worthy to sacrifice for the whole nation,³ and even rulers as late as Dyggwe the Eighth and his successors derived their greatest authority from their sacerdotal duties.⁴ In Norway it was the king or *Jarl* who conducted the sacrifices at the *Thing*, presided at the festive meal, and made the libations;⁵ while in Iceland »the *godhi* combined priestly and political functions.⁶

Among the ancient Gauls, the primitive chieftainship was to be met with during the Roman rule in the northern parts of the country only. The political unit was the clan and the chieftain-

¹ *Elander*, The Chief of the Indian Clan in North America, p. 75 sq.

² *Freeman*, The Growth of the English Constitution, pp. 29, 31. Cf. also *Idem*, The History of the Norman Conquest, vol. I, pp. 78, 133 sq.; — *Green*, History of the English People, vol. I, p. 17; — *Stubbs*, Constitutional history of England, vol. I, p. 76, passim.

³ Der Drott von der Upsala, als der von den Göttern abgestammte, wurde für den Würdigsten gehalten ihnen für das Glück und das Wohl des ganzen Volkes zu opfern, wesshalb er als der Opferpriester des ganzen Reiches den höchsten Opferdiensten vorstand». — *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 37; cf. also pp. 18, 20.

⁴ »Noch immerwährend beruhte seine vornehmste Macht auf dem Grundsteine der Religion». — *Strinnholm*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 38.

⁵ *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, The Religion of the Teutons, p. 366.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 366 sq.

ship was patriarchal with its council of the elders.¹ In the southern parts the rule of an elected »judgment-worker«, or *Vergobretus*, had been substituted for the primitive form of government, while special war leaders were appointed in charge of the military duties.² This latter form of government, however, represents a more advanced form of government than that which is the subject of our inquiry.

The ancient laws of Ireland do not give any clear description of the political organization of the early Irish communities.³ Yet nowhere do we meet with facts indicating that it was originally based upon military rule. On the contrary, it is likely that the higher chiefs were occupied with civil and religious duties, whereas military command devolved on minor chiefs. Thus the king in ancient Erin was, »in Eastern fashion,« believed to be gifted with peculiar wisdom as a judge among his people; and it was a part of his duty, as well as one of the chief of his prerogatives, to give judgment in any cases of difficulty brought before him.⁴ So also, he had »a right of lighting up religion«⁵, or »enacting the performance of specific religious duties«.⁶ As regards war chiefs, Sir Henry Maine assumes that the tribal chief »was priest and judge as well as captain of the host«.⁷

¹ *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. V, p. 19; — *Maine*, Early History of the Institutions, p. 35.

² *Fustel de Goulanges*, Institutions de l'ancienne France, p. 8, passim; — *Mommsen*, Op. cit. vol. V, p. 21. — Cf. also *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, I, 2, 9, 16, 30; II, 4 sq., 28; III, 17, 23; V, 5, 27, 54; VII, 28, 31 sqq., 36, 55, 75; VIII, 21 sq.

³ Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, pref. XXVI.

⁴ *O'Curry*, Lectures on the Manuscript Material of the Ancient Irish History, p. 43; — cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 335; and *Maine*, Early History, p. 36; — *Joyce*, Social History of Ireland, vol. I, p. 92, passim.

⁵ Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 335.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. IV, pref. p. 203; cf. also vol. I, p. 15; vol. II, pref, p. 6; and vol. IV, p. 51.

⁷ *Maine*, Op. cit. p. 35.

Yet the Ancient Laws of Ireland do not mention the war leadership among the duties of the kings. When several tribes cooperated, a »special king of companies» acted as the commander,¹ and when a single tribe carried on war, a minor, so-called *flaith* chief was the leader.² Among the Gaelic race in Scotland the original social unit appears to have been the *tuath* or tribe.³ The chief of the *tuath* was *Righ* or *Ri*, and the *Toiseach* or *Toshach* was the war leader.⁴ The *Ri* or king »held that position not merely by election, but as the representative in the senior line of the common ancestor, and had a hereditary claim to their obedience». ⁵ His primary function was judicial.⁶ Mr. Andrew Lang describes this early political organization as hierarchical.⁷ Later on a great change took place;⁸ the *tuaths* disappeared and were succeeded by the clans,⁹ which had been developed within the tribe. *Ceann-cinnidh* or *Ceanncine* was the hereditary clan chief, *Ceanntighe* was the chieftain or head of a family, while a captain acted as the war leader of the clan.¹⁰ As for the political organization in ancient Wales, it was based on kinship, the chiefs deriving their authority from patriarchal sources and not directly from warlike superiority. On the whole,

¹ Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 331.

² »There are four 'deis' rights prescribed for 'flaith' chiefs. The ancient protection of the people (or territory) is his office in the territory, together with the office of leader or tanist-leader of the army, whichever office it may be». Op. cit. vol. IV, p. 321.

³ Skene, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 136 sq.

⁴ Lang, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 133; — Skene, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 62; — Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. II, p. 210.

⁵ Skene, Op. cit. III, p. 140.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 141.

⁷ Lang, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 81.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 133.

⁹ Skene, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 335 sqq.

¹⁰ Mitchell, History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland, p. 296; — Skene, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 328; — Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. I, pp. 204—206.

it may have had a great resemblance to that prevalent in ancient Ireland previous to the wars of conquest.¹

Among the ancient Finns,² as well as among the early Esthonians³ and Lapps,⁴ the political organization was based upon kinship, the heads of the communities were charged with the general management of affairs and on them devolved at the same time the priestly functions also.⁵ It is probable, Koskinen assumes, that elected leaders headed the war expeditions.⁶ Similarly, in the case of the Finno-Ugrian peoples in Northern Russia, the patriarchal character of their chieftainship has been pointed out by various authors.⁷

In many instances it has been seen that the civil and sacerdotal duties of the chieftainship in primitive communities have been vested in one person, who often obtained his office by hereditary right, while another person was elected to lead war expeditions. In other instances it was seen that one and the same chief was entrusted with all these functions. As regards these latter cases it remains to inquire into the causes why the civil and priestly rulers have also acted as war leaders.

Authors who maintain that bravery is the sole quality which enables a savage to become a chief do not pay proper attention to the fact that primitive wars are not carried on merely by weapons and physical strength, but often by magic means also, and with the help of the unseen powers. In fact we scarcely meet

¹ *Seeböhm*, *The Tribal System in Wales*, pp. XXXII sqq., 22 sqq., 54, 61, 73 sq., 88 sqq., passim; — *Skene*, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. III, pp. 198 sq., 205 sqq.

² *Yrjö-Koskinen*, *Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä*, p. 182 sqq., passim.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 108 sqq.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 84 sqq.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 81.

⁶ *Koskinen*, *Suomen kansan historia*, p. 20 sq.

⁷ *Castrén*, *Nordiska Resor och Forskningar*, vol. I, p. 298 sqq.; — *Müller*, *Der Ugrische Volksstamm*, vol. I, part II, p. 394, passim; — see also *Yrjö-Koskinen*, *Op. cit.* passim. — *Pallas*, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches*, vol. II, p. 256, passim.

with any savage warfare in which superstitious customs do not play a considerable part.¹ Hence, it follows that magicians and priests, or the chiefs themselves, often take part in warfare in order, to display their skill in supernatural methods for the benefit of their own war party. Thus, speaking of the Maori, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes:—»I have said that Maori priests were warriors . . . There are innumerable instances of priests leading their tribes in time of war, and I think this is a custom dating from very ancient days.»² Similarly, Mr. Eldson Best states that, according to Maori belief, the deified ancestors warned the seer in his sleep when the community was in danger. »Hence a seer was often both priest and fighting general of a tribe.»³ Thus in 1864, when the Maori decided to fight the *Pakeha* (Europeans), a seer of this kind »was priest and prophet of the force and took prominent part in the fighting». He was a medium of the ancient and powerful war god *Te Potuatini*.⁴ So also Te Hakae was the chief and priest of the fort as well as the seer and magician, who defended his fort by means of magic.⁵ These *tohunga* or priests and skilled artificers⁶ of the Maori were not alone in the discharge of these duties.⁷ In some instances

¹ *Holsti*, Some Superstitious Customs in Primitive Warfare, passim; — *supra*, p. 56 sqq.

² *Smith*, *Tohunga Maori*; in *Trans. New Zeal. Institute*, vol. XXXII, p. 258.

³ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XI, p. 54; cf. p. 68; — *Gudgeon*, *The Toa Taua*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XIII, pp. 245, 261.

⁴ *Best*, *Op. cit.* vol. XI, p. 60; cf. vol. XII, p. 66; vol. XIII, p. 76.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vol. XII, p. 214.

⁶ *Tohunga* means in Maori language »a skilled person . . . a priest . . . a wizard»; — *Tregear*, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 524.

⁷ For further particulars see *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XIII, pp. 39 sq., 48; — *Idem*, *The Tohunga Maori*; in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. XXXII, p. 256; — *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 33 sqq.; — *Hammond*, *Atua Maori*; in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 91 sqq.

we read that they »were assisted by chiefs»¹ when performing rites before the commencement of hostilities. Moreover, we saw above that on these ordinary chiefs devolved certain important functions of a priestly character.² Hence, as Gudgeon relates of some tribes, before proceeding on a war expedition, »all the great fighting men of the tribe were required to squat down in line while their *Ariki* would pass them in succession between his legs in order to ward off all possible misfortune from these valuable men».³ When performing this he, the sacred *Ariki*, was certainly acting on behalf of the hereditary *Atua*, the guardian spirit of the tribe, with whom he could communicate at any time.⁴ Similarly, Mr. Best remarks that such a clan chief endowed with great prestige in war, or with a supernatural power — as for example the *waka* or medium of a war god — might easily become leader of the »collected tribal divisions in war. But on the conclusion of the fighting his temporary authority over the whole tribe would end or be much lessened».⁵ There are many other similar statements to the effect that *Ariki*, when acting as war leaders, used above all to perform rites in order to invoke supernatural aid or used to destroy the enemy by means of magic.⁶

¹ *Polack*, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, vol. I, p. 130.

² See *supra*, p. 192 sq.

³ *Gudgeon*, Mana Tangata; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 64.

⁴ *Gudgeon*, Tipua Kura; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XV, p. 38; cf. also *Idem*, Maori Religion; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIV, p. 114; — *Idem*, The Toa Taua; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 264; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, pp. 80, 93, 319, 322, 330.

⁵ *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 40.

⁶ *Wheeler*, Sociology of the Maori, I. Manuscript; — *Hammond*, Op. cit.; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VIII, p. 91 sq.; — *Smith*, Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 48; — *Polack*, Manners and Customs, vol. I, p. 40; — *Taylor*, Te Ika a Maui, pp. 80, 93.

»In those brave days of old», an old Maori told Mr. Best, »the gods of the Maori assisted them to overcome their foes». — Te Whanga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. X, pp. 161, 163. — Cf. also *Best*, Notes on the Art of War; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XI, p. 54.

We have thus seen that when elected war leaders are entrusted with the command, this is not always due to their martial qualities, but very often also to their supernatural powers. Similarly, when the tribal or, more probably, the clan chiefs called *Ariki*, acted as war leaders, this was often at least due to their relationship with the gods whose assistance was required.

Speaking of the *taopu* or village maiden in Samoa, Mr. S. Percy Smith observes that she is always of high birth, chosen for that reason and for her good looks. She »sometimes leads her clan on the battle field, where her person is sacred»; she represents the highest class of woman-chieftains.¹ Here again we meet with war leaders who do not derive their power from military capacity. According to Inglis, in the New Hebrides, »formerly the principal chiefs exercised the priestly rather than the kingly power, though both offices were frequently combined in the same person». ² This undoubtedly means that the priestly rulers acted in many cases as war leaders also. It was observed above that the *ovia ahuahū*, or the war chiefs of Roro-speaking communities in New Guinea, were in a subordinate position, as the *paiha*, or experts in battle magic, had the supreme command, and as a rule the ordinary chiefs, *ovia itsipana*, acted in this capacity.³ Similarly, among the Mekeo it devolves on the chiefs to lull the enemy into security by magic means in order to facilitate the nightly assault.⁴ Among the aborigines in Torres Strait the war expedition started in two columns, »the head of each column being a noted warrior, each of whom carried a magical emblem . . . which was supposed to give victory»⁵ The clan chiefs of the savage inhabitants of the Philippines,

Shortland observes that Maori wars were »always carried on under the supposed patronage of guardian spirits and in conformity with fixed laws». — Traditions and Superstitions, p. 230.

¹ *Smith*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VII, p. 161.

² *Inglis*, In the New Hebrides, p. 24.

³ See *supra*, p. 198.

⁴ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 346.

⁵ Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, vol. V, p. 299.

when acting as war captains, carried sacred designs in order to ensure success.¹ The chiefs of the wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula are supposed to be invested with the power of killing their enemies by magic.² According to Stewart³, the chief of the Kukies was »much more a priest than potentate«, yet, Lewin⁴ maintains, he acted as war leader also.⁵ In Madagascar the highest idol was brought with the war party whenever the sacred king acted also as the commander-in-chief.⁶ Among the Kafirs, »if the chief wishes to counteract the magic used against his nation by some rival tribe, he is bound to use his fullest knowledge of magical practices to hinder the enemy and strengthen his own people«. ⁷ So also the chief who did not command the war party personally had to perform one of the last sacred ceremonies in order to raise the courage of the army and to make it victorious.⁸ Speaking of the Sük and Turkana, Sir H. H. Johnston observes that among these peoples the medicine men are very often the chiefs or leaders of war parties by virtue of their power in occult arts.⁹ The priestly chiefs of the Masai never took part in war expeditions; yet they gave orders and directed the operations of the army in conformity with super-

¹ *Semper*, Die Philippinen, p. 62.

² *Skeat*, Wild Tribes of the Malay; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1902, p. 136.

³ *Stewart*, Notes on the Northern Cachar; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 608.

⁴ *Lewin*, Chittagong, p. 100 sq.

⁵ Speaking of the Lushai chiefs as war leaders, Mr. Shakespear remarks that he once asked a chief how many enemies he had killed. »On my expressing surprise at his admitting that he killed none, he naively remarked, you see, we chiefs always go last, shouting 'Forward, forward', and by the time I reached the village, the people had always run away.« — *Shakespear*, Lushei Kuki Clans, p. 59.

⁶ *Ellis*, Madagascar, vol. I, p. 410.

⁷ *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 148.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 307.

⁹ *Johnston*, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 851.

natural information; ¹ while among the Wafiumi the witch-doctor decides when warfare is to be entered upon, and he acts also as the leader of the enterprise. ² Of the Ba-Huana we read that their chiefs have a special war council; in war their duty is to be ambassadors, and their persons are respected also by the enemy. ³ Among the Negroes of Gambia, the chief, when sending his warriors for an expedition under the command of captains, performs certain rites in order to encourage them. ⁴ Beecham states that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ashantee kings, when entering upon war expeditions, were employed »in religious preparations during a period of several weeks. Not only in the capital, but in several other places, the king presented fetish offerings in furtherance of the undertaking.» ⁵

Of the Abipones, Dobrizhoffer writes: — »That they may not be deceived in their opinions they make one of their jugglers the ruler of the expedition». ⁶ Thus they readily admitted that the Guaycunis were more formidable than they themselves, this being the case »not because they excel them in goodness of arms, strength of body, or courage of mind, but because they enter the fight attended by far more skilful jugglers». ⁷ Among the Sia and other Pueblos, the *tiämoni*, by virtue of his priestly office, is »ex-officio chief executive and legislator; the war priest (he and his vicar, being the earthly representatives of their war

¹ *Merker*, Die Masai, pp. 18, 86; — *Vandeleur*, Campaigning on the Upper Nile, p. 134.

Von der Decken observes that the Masai chief »mit seiner Zauberkunst die Feinde zurückschlägt und vernichtet». *Reisen*, vol. II, p. 24; — *Hinde*, The Last of Masai, p. 23.

² *Baumann*, Durch Massailand, p. 179.

³ *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ba-Huana; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, p. 289.

⁴ *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Arique Occidentale, pp. 97, 100.

⁵ *Beecham*, Ashantee and Gold Coast, p. 207.

⁶ *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 375.

⁷ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 422.

heroes) having immediate control and direction of the military and of tribal hunts». The people have, however, elected war captains also. ¹ Among the ancient Mexicans ² and in Yucatan, the sacrificer as well as the war captain was called *Nacon*. ³ Speaking of an Omaha war party, Dr. Dorsey says that the war leader had as a rule a sacred bag, which he opened with its mouth towards the foe, »that the wind might waft the magic influence of the bag to the lodges and make the sleepers forget their weapons and warlike spirit». ⁴ Describing more closely these »Sacred War Packs», Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche state that no war expeditions started out until the Thunder-god had given his sanction through these sacred things. When this had taken place and when the leader and his followers had received full instructions from the keeper of one of these Sacred Packs, and, moreover, when they had secured one or more of the sacred birds to act as a medium between the party and the Thunder-god, they felt themselves ready »to face any danger; and in any event the responsibility for their acts rested with the supernatural agencies they had invoked». ⁵ Every war expedition of the Creek ⁶ Indians had its special *hopya* or »charmer at a distance». Among the Dakota, »the war chief who leads the party to war is always one of their medicine men, and is believed to have the power to guide the party to success, or save it from defeat.» ⁷ So also of Sitting Bull, »the great medicine-man» of the Sioux who died in 1890, we read: — »Although a priest rather

¹ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 16, 48.

² *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 611.

³ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 613 n 2, 645 n 1.

⁴ *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 327.

⁵ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 416.

⁶ *Gatschet*, Creek Indians, p. 165.‡

⁷ *Schoolcraft*, Information respecting the Indian Tribes, vol. IV, p. 495; — quoted by *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 339.

than a chief he had gained a reputation in his early years by organizing and leading war parties». ¹

Passing over to the so-called Aryans, in Sparta, as we have seen above, ² the people decided upon peace and war, ³ the *Ephors* collected the army, ⁴ while the kings were entrusted merely with its command. This again, was undoubtedly less due to their military renown than to the fact that all the operations had to be conducted in conformity with divine directions. ⁵ »Zeus,» observes Farnell, ⁶ »was the leader of the host, to whom the king sacrificed, and from whose altar, if the signs were favourable, he carried fire away with him to the enemy's frontier». ⁷ So also the Roman kings, and even the consuls, did not on the battle-field stand for their own military skill only; in fact, as Fustel de Coulanges justly observes: — »Privée de son chef, l'armée est en même temps privée de la protection céleste; avec le consul sont partis les auspices, c'est-à-dire la religion et les dieux.» ⁸ Similarly Mommsen observes of Scipio that after the end of the second Punic war, »the youthful conqueror moved in splendid procession through the decorated streets of the capital, to deposit his laurels in the house of the god by whose direct inspirations, as the pious whispered to one another, he had been

¹ *Mooney*, Ghost Dance Religion; in 14:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 860.

² See *supra*, p. 204.

³ *Grote*, History of Greece, vol. II, p. 277.

⁴ *Op. cit.* II, p. 275 sqq.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 275, *passim*.

⁶ *Farnell*, The Cults of the Greek States, vol. I, p. 59; cf. also vol. V, pp. 358, 404.

⁷ Speaking of the commanders-in-chief of the Phocian Confederacy, *Tittmann* remarks; — »Sonderbar ist, dass dieses Amt wie erblich war; indem man nicht nur die Brüder nach einander sondern auch den Sohn des einen wählte, der noch so jung war, dass er eines Vormundes bedurfte». — *Tittmann*, Darstellung der griechischen Staatsverfassungen, p. 709.

⁸ *Fustel de Coulanges*, La cité antique, p. 230.

guided in counsel and in action». ¹ And it is known that even later the Roman commanders paid often more attention to sacrifices than to actual fighting. ² As for the early Scandinavians, Strinnholm points out that the kings of Upsala were the most natural war leaders because of their descent from the old deified ancestors who were also supposed to take part in the fighting. ³ Moreover, in general the kings of the early Scandinavians were thought by means of their great magic skill to be able among other things to blunt swords, still the waves of the sea, and develop the power and strength of eight men. ⁴

From these facts it appears that in those cases where not merely civil and priestly but also military duties devolve on primitive chiefs, this has often been due to their supernatural power and not simply to their martial qualities. They have acted as leaders of their warriors because of their chieftainship in its general aspect.

¹ *Mommsen*, History of Rome, vol. II, p. 368. — Cf. also vol. I, p. 100 and passim; — *Gibbon*, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I, p. 16 sq.; — *Tacitus*, History IV, 85; — *Idem*, Germania, 33.

² Cf. *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. III, p. 111.

³ *Strinnholm*, Wikingszüge, vol. II, p. 37.

⁴ *Kauffmann*, Balder, p. 176; cf. p. 207 sqq.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARACTER OF PRIMITIVE CHIEFTAINSHIP

(Continued)

In the previous chapter it was observed that primitive communities do not require protection merely against human foes, but also against invisible agents and hostile powers which fill the savage mind with a sense of dependence and fear. In all the instances just quoted it was noticed also that primitive chiefs are charged with the making of offerings and other similar duties in order to secure the benevolence of these powers. So also we pointed out that, together with these supernatural factors, scarcity of food is a foe of capital importance to all savage communities whether warlike, in the ordinary sense of the word, or not. In the following pages it will be seen more clearly than above, that among the priestly duties of primitive chiefs some very important ones are directed to procuring special assistance and blessing in this respect also; similarly when the savages, after a good harvest, desire to show their gratitude towards their invisible benefactors, it devolves on the chiefs to perform the ceremonies required or otherwise to act as mediators. Nay more, the chiefs themselves are considered ultimately to be responsible for the material welfare of their people; hence in the case of failure and famine they are seriously punished.

Among the pagan Eskimo in Greenland the most skilful harpooner of the clan was considered to be its chief as well as its wizard, »Angekok«, who knew how to decoy large flocks of seals.¹ As regards the Iroquois, there seems reason to suppose that previous to the establishment of the league the sachems were charged with the duty of procuring rain.² Among the Blackfeet the chiefs prayed during the Sun-dance ceremonies »that their children might live to be old and always have plenty of food«,³ or »Mother Earth have pity on us and give us food to eat«,⁴ or also »May our medicine provide us with food«. ⁵ The Omaha paid the greatest reverence to their »Sacred Pole«. When it was to be painted with fat as the emblem of abundance, and red, the colour of life, the mixture therefore symbolizing »abundant life«, the chiefs by means of smoking were praying and »asking of a blessing«. ⁶ Among the Indians of British Columbia the chiefs performed religious ceremonies in order »to invoke the aid of the deity for fine weather, plenty of fish, etc.«⁷ Thus e. g. the Stseélis observed certain first-fruits ceremonies; for example, when the salmon »run« commenced, the first one caught was always brought to the chief. He subsequently called the people together »for prayers and dancing. Only the chief himself prayed«. ⁸ Similar customs, on the whole, prevailed among

¹ Er war zugleich der Zauberer, der Angekok, und wusste mit den Geistern Oceans, der weissen Berge des Inlandseises, der Länder jenseits des Meeres in Verbindung zu treten; er verstand zahlreiche Robbenscharen anzulocken . . . — Globus, vol. LXIX, 1896, p. 223.

² *Morgan*, League of the Iroquois, p. 196; cf. pp. 71, 185, 220 sqq.

³ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, pp. 288, 297.

⁴ *McClintock*, Op. cit. pp. 32 sqq., 93.

⁵ Op. cit. pp. 80, 85.

⁶ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 238 sqq., 283, 286 sqq., 599.

⁷ *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 81; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 252 sq.

⁸ *Tout*, Report on the StsEélis Tribe; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1904, p. 330.

the Statlunh tribe.¹ Describing the ceremonies called *Hako* among the Pawnee Indians, Miss Fletcher states that every rich man was entitled to arrange them,² yet, if he himself was not the chief, he had to ask the chief to perform them together with the *Hurahus* or the man conversant with the rites.³ With the *Hako* they prayed »for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace». ⁴ Of the Hopi, an old tale informs us that »the village chief was called *Tapolo*, but he was not at peace with his people, and there was quarrelling and trouble. Owing to this conflict only a little rain fell». ⁵ Among this people rain-cloud spirits are regarded as ancestral beings.⁶ Even at the present time, the clan chiefs of Hopi take part in ceremonies which aim at procuring rain and improving the growth of the crops.⁷ Among the Sia Indians the civil and religious head used to be elected from the corn clan; once, however, they elected him »from the coyote clan, but he proved not to have a good heart, for the cloud people refused to send rain and the earth became dry». ⁸ The Zuñi Indians recognize the supreme political authority of the rain-priesthood, which nominates and dismisses the civil head of the community. On this priesthood devolve all the ceremonies which are required to procure rain and fertilize the soil.⁹ Similarly the chief of the Seri Indians

¹ *Tout*, Report on the Statlunh; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1905, p. 140.

² *Fletcher*, The *Hako*; in 22:nd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 19, 26.

³ Op. cit. pp. 58, 60 sq., 63, 96, 100 sqq., 123, 203 sqq., 244 sqq., 256 sqq., 309 sq.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 24, 145, 148, 198, 280 sqq.

⁵ *Fewkes*, Tusayan Ceremonies; in 19:th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. p. 603.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 1008; — cf. *Fewkes*, Tusayan Ceremonies; in 16:th Ann. Rept. p. 300 sq.

⁷ Op. cit.; in 16:th Ann. Rept. pp. 274 sqq., 302 sqq.; — Op. cit.; in 19:th Ann. Rept. pp. 965, 972 sqq., 978, 1007 sqq.

⁸ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 16.

⁹ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. pp. 163, 166, 180, 289 sqq.

had the duty of procuring the food supply, stilling storms at sea, protecting the fields from the drought, etc.¹ Among the Hui-chol Indians, their spiritual head produced rain.² Speaking of the kings of ancient Mexico, Gomara states that the new kings, when ascending the throne, were »made to swear . . . to make the sun to go his course, to make the clouds to pour down rain, to make the rivers run and all fruits to ripen».³ The Najobo Indians, even as late as the middle of the last century, worshipped an idol called Montezuma. »It is», says Davis, »greatly in vogue in a dry time, when it is brought forth from the sanctuary and with dancing and other rites they invoke it in favour of rain».⁴ According to Fewkes,⁵ the chiefs of the early aborigines in Porto Rico had a special influence upon the growth of crops; this was the case also with the early inhabitants of Haiti.⁶ The Incas were similarly considered to be responsible for rain.⁷

Among the aborigines of the Gold Coast in West Africa, the chiefs perform those ceremonies which are required »pour obtenir une année prospère et d'abondantes récoltes».⁸ Describing his duties, a chief among the Cross River Negroes observed: — »By the observance and performance of these ceremonies I bring game to the hunter, cause the yam crop to be good, bring fish to the fisherman, and make rain to fall».⁹ This was the case

¹ *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 276.

² *Lumholtz*, Unknown Mexico, vol. II, pp. 7 sq., 18, 189.

³ *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, p. 340; — *Diaz*, Histoire véridique de la Nouvelle-Espagne, p. 249; — *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. II, p. 146; — *Brinton*, Hero-Myths, p. 121 sq.

⁴ *Davis*, El Gringo, p. 395; cf. p. 394.

⁵ *Fewkes*, The Aborigines of Porto Rico; in 25:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 66.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 64. — As for the Antilles, see *Rochefort*, Îles Antilles de l'Amérique, p. 361.

⁷ *Letourneau*, Evolution politique, p. 119; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, vol. I, p. 464.

⁸ *Hecquard*, Voyage sur la côte de l'Afrique Occidentale, pp. 64 sqq., 113.

⁹ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 202; cf. p. 205 sqq.

with the Loango chiefs also.¹ Thus, speaking not merely of the Ovakumbi negroes, but of the whole of equatorial Africa, the missionary, Father Wunenburger, observes: — »Une superstition, commune aux différents peuples de l'Afrique équatoriale attribue aux simples roitelets du pays, le pouvoir exclusif de faire tomber la pluie, et dans les cas extrêmes, à certains rois plus privilégiés». ² According to Mr. Kidd, »tradition always places the power of making rain as the fundamental glory of ancient chiefs and heroes» among the Kafirs; hence, as Mr Kidd adds, »it seems probable that it may have been the origin of chieftainship. The man who made rain would naturally become the chief». ³ It follows as a matter of course that the chiefs were anxious to maintain their favoured position of being the only persons vested with this special power. ⁴ Moreover, the Kafirs do not begin the harvest and the feast of first-fruits before the permission of the chief has been obtained. This custom has been designed »probably, partly as a taboo to prevent the squandering of the tribal food supply, and partly as a means of insuring that the *amatongo*, or ancestral spirits, shall get their due and be kept well disposed towards the tribe». ⁵ Similarly, among the Matabele peoples, the chiefs make rain ⁶ as well as perform the ceremonies and thanksgivings for good harvests, etc. »O Grands Esprits de mon père et de mon aïeul, je vous rends grâce de ce que l'an dernier vous avez accordé à mon peuple plus de blé qu'aux Machonas, mes ennemis. Cette année aussi, en reconnaissance des douze boeufs noirs que je vais vous consacrer, faites que nous soyons les mieux nourris . . .» ⁷ Among the

¹ *Bastian*, Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 353; vol. II, pp. 230 sq., 253.

² Les Missions Catholiques, vol. XX, p. 262.

³ *Kidd*, The Essential Kafir, p. 114.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 114, 155.

⁵ *Kidd*, Kafir Socialism, p. 7; — *Casalis*, The Basutos, p. 215.

⁶ Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LIII, pp. 262 sq., 267 sq.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 268 sq.

Mavenda in the Transvaal, »in the early spring of every year some twenty or thirty head of cattle are slain under the direction of the chief when they pray for peace, prosperity, and plenty». ¹ The chief is also rain-maker; in fact, as Mr. Grant observes, rain-making is »a greater power in the eyes of natives than that of assegai». ² They have also the feast of first-fruits with its important sacrifices, which latter, however, devolve more on the clan chiefs than on the tribal head. ³ Speaking of the natives of Mashonaland, Garbutt states that as a rule »the king is the chief rain doctor». ⁴ According to Livingstone, the chief of the Bangai was in virtue of his priestly duties in general the professional rain-maker. ⁵ The natives of the entire Nyanza district »sont persuadés que la pluie elle-même ne tombe que grâce aux sortilèges, et c'est au chef de la tribu qu'incombe la mission importante de la faire tomber. Si elle n'arrive pas à temps, tout le monde de se plaindre. Plus d'un roitelet est chassé de ses Etats pour cause de sécheresse». ⁶ Similarly among the Wagogo and the Wetumba, »the chief power of the chiefs is derived from their art of rain-making». ⁷ The chiefs also lead the way in sowing, and perform the ceremonies in connection with the beginnings of harvest. ⁸ Of the Wanika, Krapf states that wizards are charged with rain-making, yet »they call upon the chiefs to offer up a sacrifice». ⁹ The sacerdotal chiefs of the

¹ *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1905, p. 270.

² *Op. cit.* p. 267.

³ *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1905, p. 379 sqq.

⁴ *Garbutt*, Native Witchcraft; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, p. 550.

⁵ *Livingstone*, *Missionary Travels*, p. 604 sq.

⁶ *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. LX, p. 110.

⁷ *Cole*, The Wagogo of German East Africa; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1902, pp. 321; cf. p. 338.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 319.

⁹ *Krapf*, *Travels and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 170.

Wakuafi,¹ Masai,² Wataturu,³ Wambugwe and Warangi⁴ procure rain. Among the Lendu, »the rain maker is either a chief or almost invariably becomes one». ⁵ According to Casati, the chief of the Mambettu procured rain. ⁶ Speaking of the people of Unyoro, the same author observes: — »A native complained to me of the obstinate drought. 'And who is it', I demanded, 'that regulates the fall of rain in this country?' 'Makama, (the king) he replied». ⁷ As regards the Lattooka, their chief, Lugar, was once driven away after the failure of his effort to cause rain to fall. A few days afterwards, however, when a great quantity of rain fell, the exile was recalled. ⁸ Of the Lur, Casati states that their chief, Wadelai, was a stranger to war, »whereas he was an universal rain enchanter». ⁹ According to Von der Decken,¹⁰ when the Galla are suffering from drought the chief, assisted by elders, performs ceremonies in order to relieve the distress. Describing the natives living in the regions of the White Nile, Brun Rollet states that they have no other kings than those invested with the powers of making rain. Hence, if »après avoir fait leur offre et réitéré leur demande, la pluie ne tombe pas, ils (the people) se rendent auprès du roi et lui fendent le ventre, lequel suivant eux, renferme les tempêtes . . .»¹¹ Of

¹ *Von der Decken, Reisen, vol. II, p. 24.*

² *Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, vol. II, p. 830.*

³ *Baumann, Durch Massailand, p. 173.*

⁴ *Op. cit. p. 188.*

⁵ *Johnston, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 555.*

⁶ *Casati, Ten Years in Equatoria, vol. I, p. 133.*

⁷ *Op. cit. vol. I, p. 134; vol. II, p. 57; — Featherman, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 111.*

⁸ *Op. cit. vol. I, p. 132; — cf. also Featherman, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 82.*

⁹ *Op. cit. vol. I, p. 327. — Speaking of the Bari the same author observes: — »Their respect and veneration for the dispensers of rain are greater than those felt for the chiefs of the country». — Op. cit. vol. I, p. 304.*

¹⁰ *Von der Decken, Reisen, vol. II, p. 375; — cf. Featherman, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 784.*

¹¹ *Brun Rollet, Lettres par . . .; in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1852, p. 421 sqq.*

the Barea and Kunama in Abyssinia, Munzinger gives information to the same effect; if the chiefs called *Alfai* are not successful in rainmaking and in driving away grasshoppers, they are stoned to death.¹

Describing the feast of the first-fruits among the Tongans, Mariner states that portions of the fruits of the earth and other eatables »are offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief *Tooitonga*, which allotment is made once a year». The object of this ceremony, according to the same observer, is to »insure the protection of the gods, that their favour may be extended to the welfare of the nation generally and, in particular, to the productions of the earth». ² Hence, if this offering were neglected the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people. ³ Similarly in Rarotonga, the *ariki* or chief acted as mediator between the people and the gods at the festival of first-fruits. ⁴ Of the natives of the Humphrey Island, we read that the chief »prayed for ordinary supplies of food and life and health». ⁵ In Samoa the village chiefs received the first-fruits. ⁶ Turner visited Niue Island in 1854, when the natives had no king. »Of old they had kings, but as they were high priests as well, and were supposed to cause the food to grow, the people got angry with them in times of scarcity and killed them; and as one after another was killed, the end of it was that no one wished to be a king». ⁷ We noticed above, that the Fijian chiefs were civil and religious rulers, while the leader-

¹ *Munzinger*, Ostafrikanische Studien, p. 474.

² *Mariner*, The Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. II, p. 207; cf. also the following pages, and *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. II, p. 135.

³ *Mariner*, Op. cit. vol. II, p. 84.

⁴ *Smith*, Arai-Te-Tonga; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. XII, p. 218; — *Idem*, Hawaiki; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. VII, p. 197.

⁵ *Turner*, Samoa, p. 279.

⁶ *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 88, 327.

⁷ *Turner*, Samoa, p. 304 sq.

ship of war expeditions devolved on special war captains.¹ In order to procure rain, the chief herald of the hereditary rulers prayed: — »Be gracious, ye lords the gods, that the rain may cease and the sun shine forth». ² But at the festival of the first-fruits the chief himself performed the ceremonies required, i. e. the fruits were given to him and then carried to the temple. The aim of the offering was »to persuade the ancestors to grant abundant increase». ³ Speaking generally, similar customs prevailed in New Caledonia also. ⁴ In the New Hebrides the departed chiefs are supposed especially to preside over the growth of the yams and the different fruit-trees. The first-fruits are presented to them. All being quiet, the chief acts as high priest, and prays aloud thus: — »Compassionate father, here is some food for you; eat it, be kind to us on account of it». ⁵ In Murray Islands, at the beginning of harvest, all the people assembled for worship, »when the *Ad* ⁶ would be worn on the head of the tribal chief». He was also presented with the first-fruits. ⁷ Dr. Seligmann writes of a clan-chief among the Roro-speaking tribes in New Guinea »who has for generations had power over the weather and is firmly believed to procure rain at will». ⁸ The chief of the Mowat tribe in New Guinea is supposed to have the power of »affecting the growth of crops for good or bad, also of coaxing the dugong and turtle to come from all parts and allow them-

¹ See *supra*, p. 197.

² *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. 1, p. 144; — see also pp. 230, 233.

³ *Thomson*, The Fijians, p. 64.

⁴ *Rochas*, La Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 276 sq.

⁵ *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88; — *Idem*, Samoa, p. 319.

⁶ Certain objects were regarded as sacred, says Mr. Hunt, and were known by the generic name *Ad*. When the chief spirit of the natives was benignant, merciful and helpful, he was then known as *Agud*. The *Ad* of *Agud* consisted of a figure of man made of turtle shell. — *Hunt*, Notes on the Murray Islands; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1898, p. 6 sq.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 291.

selves to be taken». ¹ This is the case also with other chiefs in the same island; they have influence over the rain and the fish. Thus, according to Chalmers, a man was chief because he had power over the sea in calm or storm. Another man was »great because his power is for plantations and is able to give an abundance of all kinds of food, and can bring rain and sunshine». ² In Bartle Bay, the position of a chief and that of a wizard were combined in the same person, the chief having also special influence upon the crops. ³ Similarly, in the Marshall Bennett Islands, the clan chiefs made the gardens of their clans productive by means of charms. Each crop had its special spell. ⁴ Among the early inhabitants of Formosa, the old men, the rulers of the communities, had to see that all men were entirely naked at the season of growing crops, otherwise the gods would not have given rain nor would the rice have grown. ⁵ According to Low, the Dyak chiefs prayed »that the next *Padi* harvest might be abundant, that their families might be increased with male children, and that their pigs and fowls might be very prolific; it was in fact a prayer for general prosperity to the country and tribe». ⁶ As regards the Hill tribes, not merely the stars and gods, but also the chiefs themselves »are requested to shed their beneficent influence over the seed *Padi* and to render the season propitious to its growth». ⁷ So also the chief performs the ceremonies in connection with the beginning of harvest. ⁸ Similarly, Furness observes that the chiefs of the Dyaks are responsible for rain. ⁹

¹ Beardmore, The Natives of Movat; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1890, p. 464.

² Chalmers, Toaripi; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1898, p. 334.

³ Seligmann, The Melanesians, p. 456.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 702.

⁵ Hulsius, Beschreibung der zweyen Insulen Formosa und Japan p. 39 sq.

⁶ Low, Sarawak, p. 255.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 251.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 151 sq.

⁹ Furness, Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters, p. 28.

Among the Tangkhuls, Nagas and Angamis in Manipur the sacerdotal chiefs of the villages have special influence upon the growth of crops and upon rain.¹ If the other artificers fail, the Raja, the descendant of semi-divine ancestors, must play his part. On a high hill he performs a magic rain-compelling rite. Every year a great procession worships at this hill, »but its special efficacy depends upon the presence of the Raja». ² Among the Meitheis in Manipur the clan chiefs officiate at the annual ceremonies which are connected with the crops, while *Meithei Ningthou*, or the Raja of the entire people, intercedes in cases of prolonged drought only.³ Similar customs are prevalent among the natives of Assam⁴ and Bengal also.⁵ The Bagadas of the Neilgherry Hills have a proverb, »Where no master is, there the harvest will be bad». ⁶ So also among the Cohatars the chief prays »for prosperity to the community during the ensuing year». ⁷

As regards the Chinese rulers, as early as 2200 B. C. an old saw bade them see to it that: »the elements of water, fire, metal wood, and earth with grain be well regulated». ⁸ Hence we read of the Emperor K'ou: — »Tout ce qu'éclaircit le soleil et la lune, tout ce qu'atteignent le vent et la pluie se soumet à lui sans exception». ⁹ Similarly an instructive passage concerning

¹ *Hodson*, The Native Tribes of Manipur; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1901, p. 308.

² *Op. cit.* p. 303.

³ *Hodson*, The Meitheis, pp. 108, 110 sq.

⁴ *Hodson*, The »Genna» amongst the Tribes of Assam; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1906, pp. 96, 101, passim.

⁵ *Shakespear*, The Kuki-Lushai Clans; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, p. 382; — *Dalton*, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 91; — *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. LIII, p. 180; — *Hodgson*, The Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal; in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XVIII, part II, p. 708.

⁶ *Metz*, The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, p. 91.

⁷ *Harkness*, Neilgherry Hills, p. 76.

⁸ *Medhurst*, Ancient China, p. 44 sq.; — *Chavannes*, Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien, vol. I, pp. 33, 37.

⁹ *Chavannes*, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 40.

the Emperor Tsin-Che-Hoang-Ti runs; — »Son action modératrice s'exerce en obéissant aux saisons, toutes les productions abondent et se multiplient». ¹ According to Marco Polo, the early Tartar rulers used to make offerings because »the Earth and the Air and the False Gods shall have their share of it and the spirits likewise that inhabit the Air and the Earth. And thus those beings will protect and bless the Kaan and his children and his wives and his folk and his gear and his cattle and his horses, his corn, and all that is his». ² Of the ancient Egyptians, Ammianus Marcellinus observes that they were accustomed to attribute calamities like defeat in war and famine to their rulers. ³ The early Germans used to depose their kings if under their rule the state met »with any disaster in war, or if the earth failed to produce a good crop». ⁴ Further, the kings had in every way to make use of their magic skill to the benefit of their people. ⁵ Similar customs prevailed among the early Scandinavians. ⁶ According to the ancient laws of Ireland, there were seven proofs which attested the falsehood of any king. Of these the four last were »dearth in his reign, dryness of cows,

¹ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 147. — See also *Medhurst*, Op. cit. pp. 145, 215, 351 sq., 391.; — *Pauthier*, *Chine*, p. 135.

² *Yule*, *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 304; cf. p. 309.

³ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *History*, XXVIII, 5, 14.

⁴ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Loc. cit.* — *Lamprecht* writes: — »jeder Unwille der Gottheit (wurde) vom unbefriedigten Volke dem königlichen Hause zur Last gelegt und nicht selten fielen darum Könige bei öffentlichem Unglück, bei Misswachs und Hungersnot, bei Niederlage und Sterben, der Wut des Volkes zum Opfer». — *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 134; — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, *The Religion of the Teutons*, p. 366; — *Dahn*, *Zur Geschichte der germanischen Gottesurtheile*, p. 537; — *Mogk*, *Menschenopfer bei den Germanen*; in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1912, vol. XV, pp. 427, 433 sq.

⁵ *Kauffmann*, *Balder*, pp. 208 sqq., 215, passim.

⁶ »So opferten die Schweden ihren Drott Domalder den Göttern zur Versöhnung nach langjährigem Misswachs für ein gutes Jahr». *Strinholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. II, p. 34 n.; — *Chantepie de la Saussaye*, *Op. cit.* p. 372; — *Kauffmann*, *Balder*, p. 174 sq.

blight of fruit, scarcity of corn». ¹ Hence the book of Uacong-bhail gives the following description of Cormac the king of Erin: — »The world was full of all goodness in his time; there was fruit and fatness of the land and abundant produce of the sea, with peace and ease and happiness in his time». ² As regards first-fruits, ³ every great chief was entitled to them, »because they remove foul weathers by their good customs». ⁴

It was pointed out above that in close connection with those instances in which the chiefs are invested with the duty of exercising a special influence over the weather, the growth of crops, fishing etc., there are cases showing that the possession of wealth is in itself sufficient to entitle a man to become chief, or that the possession of wealth is in many cases required even of a chief who derives his authority mainly from other sources, as for example from inheritance. According to Rink, the arrangement of feasts and the distribution of wealth created social prominence among the Eskimo. ⁵ So also among the Tacullies »any person may become a *miutu* or chief who will occasionally provide a village feast». ⁶ Of the Kutchin Indians, Bancroft states that they have scarcely any government; their chiefs are elected »on account of wealth or ability». ⁷ Among the Fox Islanders, those who have numerous families and are skilful and suc-

For the right of the old Anglo-Saxon *Witan* to depose the kings, see *Freeman*, Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 113 sq.; — *Idem*, English Constitution, pp. 29, 39, 167 n. 48.

¹ Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 53; cf. vol. V, p. 451. — See also *Joyce*, Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol. I p. 56.

² *O'Curry*, Lectures on Ancient Irish History, p. 44.

³ Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. III, p. 25; — cf. *Skene*, Celtic Scotland; vol. II, p. 71.

⁴ For further particulars see *Westermarck*, The Moral Ideas, vol. II, p. 609; — *Frazer*, The Golden Bough, vol. II, p. 459 sqq.

⁵ *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 28 sq.

⁶ *Bancroft*, The Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. I, p. 132.

⁷ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 132.

cessful in hunting and fishing are elected to be chiefs.¹ Among the Tlingit² and Haidahs,³ rank and power depend greatly upon wealth, which consists of implements, wives and slaves. Although the Haidah chiefs are at the same time »sorcerer-chiefs»,⁴ yet their rank increases *pari passu* with the number of feasts arranged by them.⁵ Speaking of the Statlunh Indians, Mr. Tout states that the office of tribal chief is theoretically elective and practically hereditary, especially among the lower tribes. The chief is as a rule »the wealthiest man in the tribe». As for succession, both father and son pave the way by a generous distribution of presents.⁶ Similarly there is every reason to believe that, previous to the arrival of Missionaries, the Siciatl Indians used to elect their chiefs on account of their feasting; ⁷ hence even a stranger could become a ruling chief by this means.⁸ According to the same author, a similar order of things was prevalent among the Stseélis Indians; succession, however, was more firmly established, so that if a reigning chief died, leaving only a young son behind him, the wealthiest man of the village would act as »seat warmer» for the boy, until he could succeed to his father's place. Moreover, »it was *de rigueur* for a chief to return more than the value of anything he took or received». ⁹ Among the Chinook each band or village was

¹ *Coxe*, Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, pp. 120, 181, 218 sqq.

² *Swanton*, The Tlingit Indians; in 26:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 448 sq.

³ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 167.

⁴ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 172; cf. p. 168.

⁵ *Swanton*, Op. cit. pp. 434, 439, 448.

⁶ *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the Statlunh; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

⁷ *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, pp. 22, 25.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 22.

⁹ *Tout*, Ethnol. Report on the StsEélis Tribe; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1904, p. 317.

usually ruled by a chief, »either hereditary or elected for his wealth and popularity, who exerted over his tribe influence rather than authority, but who was rarely opposed in his measures». ¹ Of the Aht Indians in the Vancouver Islands, Sproat observes that the person who gives away the most property receives the greatest praise and »in time acquires almost as a matter of course, but by the voice of the tribe, the highest rank obtainable by such means». ² Yet this rank is only for life and is different from the ancient tribal ranks. As a matter of fact, even these hereditary rights involve the duty of distributing wealth. Hence the head chief, though frequently receiving presents from his tribesmen, is not expected to remain wealthy, as he has to entertain visitors and make large distributions to his own people. ³ Of the Nootka Indians in general, Bancroft observes that the accumulation of property beyond the necessities of life is only considered desirable for the purpose of distributing it at great feasts and thereby acquiring a reputation for wealth and liberality. ⁴ »To enter the rank of the medicine-men or to attain rank of any kind, property must be sacrificed». ⁵ The great feasts during which this distribution of wealth takes place are given periodically by the head chiefs. ⁶ Thus among the Indians of Salish stock as well as among the Nootka tribes in British Columbia, chieftainship is mainly based upon wealth; even in the case of hereditary succession the chiefs distribute their property for the benefit of their tribesmen. ⁷

¹ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 240.

² *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 113.

³ *Sproat*, Op. cit. p. 114.

⁴ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 191.

⁵ Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 192, 194.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. I, p. 201.

⁷ Cf. *Cox*, Adventures on the Columbia River, vol. 1, p. 324; — *Dunn*, History of Oregon, p. 252 sq.; — *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the StatlumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

»The chiefs are considered in proportion to their riches; such a chief has a great many wives, slaves, and strings of beads — he is accounted a

According to Bancroft, hereditary chieftainship is almost unknown among the Northern Californians. »If the son succeeds the father it is because the son has inherited the father's wealth and if a richer than he arise, the ancient ruler is deposed and the new chief reigns in his stead». ¹ Among the Tolewas in Del Norte, »money makes the chief». ² At Trinidad Bay, »the chief obtains his position from his wealth». ³ In his description of the Blackfeet Indians, Mr. McClintock states that generous distribution of wealth creates social rank. ⁴ »A chief must be kind-hearted and open-handed, ever ready to share his food supply with the poorest of his tribe». So also, it devolves on him to entertain strangers and delegations from other tribes. ⁵ Similar customs prevailed among the Omaha. Open-handedness increased a man's social rank, ⁶ and the chiefs were expected largely to distribute gifts to their people ⁷, as well as to entertain strangers and arrange feasts. ⁸ According to Hunter, the Kickapoo, the Kansas and Osage Indians had no hereditary peace chiefs. ⁹ Yet »the chiefs and candidates for public preferment render themselves popular by their disinterestedness and po-

great chief», says Franchère of the Columbian Indians in general. — Voyage to N. W. Coast of America, p. 250; — *Mayne*, Four Years in British Columbia, p. 263 sqq.; — *Paul Kane*, Wanderings, p. 239; — *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 217, 240; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, pp. 261, 304 n, 353 sq.

¹ *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 347.

² *Powers*, Some Accounts of the Habits, Customs, Traditions and Language of the Californian Indians; quoted by *Bancroft*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 348 n.

³ *Hubbard*, in Golden Era, March 1856; quoted by *Bancroft*, Loc. cit.

⁴ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, pp. 253, 257, 276 sqq.

⁵ *McClintock*, Op. cit. p. 189.

⁶ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. p. 520 sqq., passim.

⁷ Op. cit. pp. 202, 212, 378, 495 sqq., [632]; — *Dorsey*, Omaha Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 217.

⁸ *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, Op. cit. p. 212.

⁹ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 322.

verty. Whenever any extraordinary success attends them in the acquisition of property, it is only for the benefit of their most meritorious adherents; for they distribute it with a profuse liberality, and pride themselves in being estimated the poorest men in the community». ¹ Although, among the Assiniboin, the office of a civil and that of a warrior chief may have been united in one person, in which respect their chieftainship would differ from that found among the other Siouan tribes, ² nevertheless his position depended above all upon his generosity. »A chief would be deposed for any conduct causing general disgust or dissatisfaction, such as incest (marrying within his gens) or lack of generosity . . . To preserve his popularity a chief must give away all his property, and he is consequently always the poorest man in the band». ³ So also of the Kansas we read that the civil chieftainship depended upon distribution of wealth. ⁴ Similarly among the other Indian tribes, who once inhabited the Mississippi regions, the chiefs were expected generously to distribute their wealth to their tribesmen. ⁵ So also of the Ojibway Indians, Jones ⁶ observes that the rank of the hereditary peace chief depended upon his hospitality; while of the peace chief among the Sauks we read that he is usually poor, because he is »compelled to give away his property in hospitality or benevolence . . . must entertain his people occasionally with feasts and be liberal in giving presents». ⁷ Among the Apache a

¹ *Hunter*, Op. cit. p. 325; — *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. p. 232.

² See *supra*, p. 174 sqq.

³ *Dorsey*, Op. cit. p. 224.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ *Mooney*, Siouan Tribes, p. 54; — *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. I, p. 111; — *Hennepin*, Discovery of a Vast Country in America, vol. I, p. 142; — see also for Indians in general, *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. I, p. 563.

⁶ *Jones*, The Ojibway Indians, p. 108.

⁷ *McKenney* and *Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. II., p. 68.

man's social position was created by the number of his wives and his ability to sustain a large family.¹

Speaking of the aborigines of Brazil, Martius² remarks that among the Tupis, Mundrucus, and others, the wealth of the chiefs, and the generous use of it for the common benefit, created deference. Similarly, among the Bakairi³ and Yaulapiti⁴ the care for the general material welfare of his people is the main duty of the chief. As regards the Chaco Indians in Paraguay, each village has its cacique, who is »almost always noted for his untidiness, laziness and dirt«. This is due to the fact that he is supposed to give rather than to receive presents; hence, »should he outdo his followers in finery, the natural inference would be that he was stingy and kept his good things for himself«. ⁵ Such an order of things prevailed among the Lengua Indians also. A young chief once asked a missionary: — »Why do you not give me presents? My followers expect me to give them things, and I do so; you are my chief, but I find you do not give me any presents«. ⁶ According to Dobrizhoffer, the Abipones »require at the cacique's hands whatever they take it into their head to wish for, believing that his office obliges him to satisfy the petitions of all«. ⁷ In fact, a cacique never dared to wear new clothes, because of the begging of his people. ⁸ Of the aborigines of Chile, Molina observes that they were not governed by military rulers; »on the contrary it would seem as if wealth had been the means of exalting the ruling families to the rank which they occupy«. ⁹

¹ Bancroft, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 512.

² Martius, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 18.

³ Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, pp. 59 sqq., 85, 89 sq.

⁴ Steinen, Op. cit. p. 113. »Es ist erstaunlich welche Unterschiede es sogar bei diesen Naturvölkern zwischen Arm und Reich giebt«, p. 112.

⁵ Grubb, Among Paraguayan Chaco, p. 102 sq.

⁶ Hawtrey, The Lengua Indians; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1901, p. 292.

⁷ Dobrizhoffer, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 106.

⁸ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 107.

⁹ Molina, History of Chili, vol. II, p. 19.

Among the Koorankos in Senegambia, the chiefs are elected on account of their personal talents and merits; generally, however, a wealthy person exercises the greatest influence.¹ Of the peoples living in the regions of the Niger River, we read that they have many hundreds of petty chiefs. »La royauté est accessible à tout le monde; l'unique moyen est d'immoler un ou deux êtres humains. C'est le signe de la puissance et de la richesse». ² Among the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijos the village heads are either old or wealthy men. The Jekris have a head chief for the whole tribe, »but the richest man is the most looked up to». ³ A chief of the Cross River Negroes once told Mr. Partridge: — »I am not yet made a really great chief. I am not rich enough to retire into a compound. I must go to market and get property». ⁴ According to Mr. Tessman, the chiefs of the Pangwe derive their influence from having many wives, *i. e.* from wealth. ⁵ Among the Ba-Mbala in Congo the richest man of the community is its chief. Moreover, the villages are, as a rule, small and it often happens that a man who has become rich enough leaves his village with his wives and slaves, and establishes a village of his own, with himself as *Fumu* or chief. ⁶ So also upon the death of a *Fumu* the power devolves upon the individual who comes next in wealth; there is no form of election. ⁷ Of the Betchuana, Burchell states that the word *kosi* »has a double acceptance, denoting either a chief or a rich man». ⁸

¹ *Featherman*, Social History of the Races of Mankind, vol. I, p. 325.

² Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 46.

³ *Granville* and *Roth*, Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos of the Niger Coast; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1898, p. 117.

⁴ *Partridge*, Cross River Natives, p. 206. — See also *Post*, Afrikanische Jurisprudenz, vol. I, p. 131.

⁵ The village chief in general »hat nur durch grössere Anzahl der Frauen, was gleichbeteutend mit grösserem Reichtum ist, einigen Einfluss». — *Tessman*, Pangwe Expedition; in Globus, 1910, vol. XCVII, p. 4.

⁶ *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1905, p. 409.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 408.

⁸ *Burchell*, Travels into the Interior of South Africa, vol. II, p. 347.

As regards the Basutos, Casalis points out that the chiefs dread nothing more than the loss of their riches. »This misfortune is attended with consequences as fatal as those arising from a revolt. The chiefs are the great providers for the community». ¹ In his description of the Kafirs Lichtenstein observes that each village chief »chooses from among his most wealthy subjects five or six, who act as counsellors to him, without whose advice he seldom undertakes anything of importance». ² According to Weeks, the chiefs of the Bangala communities are elected by the heads of the families. As regards these latter, their power depends upon wealth. »Such men necessarily had more influence and their words carried greater weight than the words of poorer and smaller men». ³ Roscoe states of the Baganda that the hereditary clan chiefs were expected to distribute wealth to their people. ⁴

Among the natives of Cape York in Australia several wives ensure to the husband a certain amount of influence in his tribe; but this is due not merely to the fact that wives are looked upon as valuable property, but also to the importance of the connections by marriage. ⁵ According to Polack ⁶ demands on the generosity of the chiefs were of continual occurrence among the Maori. The number of wives added to the husband's importance, each wife having her own *mara* or farm. Hence, says Taylor, when a chief had several wives he could then entertain guests without fear of scarcity, and this was a sign of greatness. ⁷ So also, the same author states, that in another instance a minor chief

¹ *Casalis*, *The Basutos*, p. 216.

² *Lichtenstein*, *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. I, p. 286.

³ *Weeks*, *Notes on the Bangala of Upper Congo River*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1909, p. 430.

⁴ *Roscoe*, *The Baganda*, p. 13.

⁵ *McGillivray*, *Voyages of »Rattlesnake»*, vol. I, pp. 148, 151; vol. II, p. 27 sq.: — *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. V, p. 230.

⁶ *Polack*, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. I, p. 44 sq.

⁷ *Taylor*, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 164.

of a Maori tribe was »the directing spirit» of the tribe on account of his great wealth, although nominally another person »ranked as the head». ¹ In Samoa it devolved on the clan chiefs to get property by marriage in order to be able to distribute it to the members of their communities. ² The dignity of a Fijian chief was estimated by the number of his wives. ³ Polygamy was looked upon as principal source of a chief's power and wealth. ⁴ Moreover, the chiefs were to exact largely and give liberally to their people. Thus, only a small portion of what they received remained in their own hands. ⁵

As for the aborigines of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann observes of the people in Bartle Bay that the amount of property a man possessed was »probably the greatest deciding influence fixing his social position». ⁶ Among the Roro-speaking tribes the chiefs are expected largely to entertain their own people. ⁷ This was the case for the clan chiefs among the Koita, too. ⁸ Another observer, Krieger, states that among the Papuan population in general in New Guinea personal qualities — as for example bravery, wisdom, or reliability — did not elevate a man to the chieftainship; it was possessions and generosity which did this. ⁹ Similarly, though the Mafulu have hereditary clan chiefs, their active functions »appear to be largely ceremonial». Besides ordinary civil and judicial matters, their duties consist in arranging feasts. ¹⁰ Speaking of the natives of the

¹ *Taylor*, Past and Present, p. 252.

² *Turner*, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 282.

³ *Williams and Calvert*, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 32.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 178.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 42.

⁶ *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 457.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 218 sq.

⁸ *Op. cit.* pp. 52, 54, 141 sq.

⁹ *Krieger*, Neu Guinea, pp. 191 sq., 420.

¹⁰ *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 114; cf. pp. 125 sq., 144 sq., 165 sq.

whole of Micronesia, Ratzel observes that wealth, together with religious traditions, is the foundation of political influence and the measure of social position.¹ According to Kolff, the chiefs of the inhabitants of Tenimber Islands were »respected as the oldest, the most experienced, and the richest» among their people.² Similarly among the Arafuras, the richest men were elected to chiefs.³

According to Furness, the Miris, Aos, Semas, Lhotas, Kojahmas, Merhamas, Manpuris, and Amons in Eastern Assam have no marked tribal unity. »There is no one man whom any single tribe regards as a chief or leader». Each village is divided into from two to eight *khels* or wards, which apparently are »united in a zealous obedience and loyalty to its leader». These leaders again are chosen on account of their riches and are expected generously to give feasts.⁴ Among the Tangkhuls and Nagas the villages are governed by religious heads or *ghennaburas*.⁵ Yet if a man is rich enough to feast the whole village, »he is entitled to become subject to the same dietary disabilities as the *ghennabura*». ⁶ Of the Mishmis in Bengal, who »possess one of the lowest grades of civilization», McCosh writes: — »A constant round of festivities is kept up from one end of the year to the other. Each chieftain kills the fattest bullock in turn; all his associates are invited to partake of the good cheer. The host is in his turn a guest at the next feast, and thus a reciprocity of entertainment is insured». Moreover, the skull of the animal is

¹ Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 232.

² Kolff, *Voyage of »Dourga*, p. 229.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 161, 164.

⁴ Furness, *Ethnography of the Nagas*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1902, p. 746 sq.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 204 sq.

⁶ Hodson, *The Native Tribes of Manipur*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1901, p. 306; — Stewart, *Notes on the Northern Cachar*; in *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1855, vol. XXIV, p. 608 sq.; — Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 42.

hung up as a record in the hall of the entertainer, and when he dies the whole collection of many years is piled upon his grave »as a monument of his riches and a memorial of his worth». ¹ Similarly among the Santals the feast-giving is one of the most important duties of influential people. ² Of the political organization of the inhabitants of Chumbi Valley, it was observed above that the two civil and sacerdotal chiefs, called *kongdus*, of the entire community were elected among the *tshopas* or village chiefs; these again were chosen on account of wealth. Hence, as soon as they lost their property they were removed from office. So also of the *kongdus*, »the one which is recognized as having the superior wealth or social influence is always chosen to be the *thripa* or chairman». ³ Before the Kurds were brought under the Russian yoke their tribes were ruled by chiefs who were chosen to the office by reason of their noble birth or simply on account of their wealth. ⁴

So far as the account of Caesar gives a true picture of the early Gauls, wealth and openhandedness brought about social prominence and seemed to have been a successful way for obtaining political leadership. ⁵ According to the Brehon laws, the Irish chiefs were expected to be wealthy; ⁶ in fact the whole social constitution was based upon riches in cattle and land. ⁷ Similarly Skene writes of the development of clans and clan chieftainship: — »As soon as the superior advance of some mem-

¹ *McCosh*, The Mountain Tribes of N. E. Bengal; in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1876, p. 195 sq.

² *Hunter*, Rural Bengal, vol. I, p. 215 sq.

³ *Walsh*, Elective Government in Chumbi Valley; in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1906, p. 305.

⁴ *Stenin*, Die Kurden; in Globus, 1896, vol. LXX, p. 221.

⁵ *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, I, 2, 3, 18; VI. 13, 15.

⁶ *Maine*, Early History of Institutions, pp. 134, 142; — Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 301 sq. See »Crith Gablach» in general.

⁷ *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 143 sq; — *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 80; — *Seebohm*, Tribal Custom, p. 86.

bers of the tribe over the others in wealth and importance produced a relation of superior and dependent by the latter becoming *Ceile* or tenants of the former, while their possessions became hereditary in their families, the germ of the *Finé* or sept was formed». When the members of the sept or clan acquired parts of the tribal land as the absolute property of individuals, this advance of theirs as wealthy land and cattle owners led to its further development.¹ Moreover, such a *flath* or clan chief »added to his followers by settling stranger septs upon his waste lands». ² So also *Ri tuath* not only occupied the position of king of the tribe, but was likewise the *flath* or chief of the most powerful sept within it.³ Speaking of the early German chiefs in general, Lamprecht⁴ observes that they strengthened their position by means of wealth, and consequently became no longer dependent upon the whim of their people. Again, according to Dahn,⁵ the chiefs of republican communities were mainly chosen from the rich nobility.

Thus, contrary to the view held by Letourneau,⁶ Vaccaro,⁷ Lester Ward⁸ and others, that primitive chiefs are, as a rule, egotistical tyrants, all the instances quoted undoubtedly make it clear that as far as the material welfare of primitive communities is concerned, they are, on the contrary, true benefactors of their people. This inference is corroborated also by a host of facts throwing additional light upon the patriarchal character of primitive chieftainship. Describing the efforts of Red Jacket,

¹ *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, p. 171.

² Op. cit. vol. III, p. 173.

³ Op. cit. vol. III, p. 185 sq.

⁴ *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 171.

⁵ *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. I, p. 23.

⁶ »La petite société n'est plus qu'un troupeau d'esclaves obéissant aux caprices débridés d'un maître sauvage». — *Letourneau*, Évolution politique, p. 66.

⁷ *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, p. 236.

⁸ *Ward*, Dynamic Sociology, vol. I, p. 585, passim.

the chief of the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois, to preserve his people from destruction through the hostile attitude of the Whites, McKenney and Hall observe: — »His nation was his god; her honour, preservation, and liberty his religion». ¹ The same authors write of the chief of the Sauks that »frequently the young men take his horses or other property without leave, he being perhaps the only individual in the tribe with whom such liberty could be taken with impunity. He is the father who must regard with an indulgent eye the misdeeds of his children, when he is himself the injured party, but who must administer inflexible justice when others are aggrieved». ² Of the Siouan chiefs Dr. Dorsey states that their duty is to study the welfare of their people, by whom they are regarded as a father, and whom they address as their children. ³ Similarly of the Indians of the Salish stock in British Columbia, an instructive passage runs: — »A Salish chief was rather a patriarch than a ruler. He was essentially the tribal father and stood to the tribe as a whole, on much the same footing as did the several eldersmen to their individual families». ⁴ Prompted by the constant misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the Indians by the Whites, Mad Wolf, the chief of the Blackfeet, adopted Mr. McClintock as his son, hoping that this step »would be productive of sympathy and fidelity to the welfare of his tribe», *i. e.* he wanted a white man who had lived sufficiently long among his people and would tell the truth about them to the Whites. ⁵ A fairly well-known trait in the Indian view of the President of the United States is their opinion that he is their father and that they are »his red children». ⁶ It need hardly be

¹ *McKenney and Hall*, History of the Indian Tribes, vol. I, p. 9 sq.

² *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 68.

³ *Dorsey*, Siouan Sociology; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 224.

⁴ *Tout*, Report on the Ethnology of the StatlumH; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 130.

⁵ *McClintock*, Old North Trail, p. 97.

⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 172, 276; — *Fletcher and La Flesche*, The Omaha Tribe; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 621.

pointed out that this belief is far less due to the conduct of the Republican Government than to an earlier view now applied to modern conditions.

When among the Sia the chief has been inaugurated in his office, the lower priests say: — »This man is now our priest, he is now our father and mother». ¹ Of the Seri Indians, Mr. McGee observes that although the clan mother is the central figure of the community, the executive power is vested in her brothers. He among them who is looked upon as the chief recognizes in every way his great responsibility »for the welfare of the tribe». ² Similar views were held by the ancient Mexicans as to the duties of their sacerdotal rulers towards the people in general, and for unprovided orphans, widows, and the aged in particular. ³ Of the Lengua chief, Mr. Hawtrey observes that he is expected »to provide for his followers, and in this respect he is more like the father of the family than a chief in the recognized sense of the word . . . The more intelligence a chief has, the better he is able to provide for his followers and to work for their welfare». ⁴ Describing the position of the *caciques* among the Abipones Dobrizhoffer remarks that it certainly was far more »a burden than an honour», and often brought with it »greater danger than profit». ⁵ This was due to the fact that the people required »at the *cacique's* hands whatever they took it into heads to wish for, believing that his office obliged him to satisfy the petitions of all». ⁶ Among the natives of Central Brazil, says von den Steinen, the chief may often be simply a father of the family on a greater scale (*Hausvater in grösserem Stil*), who has to provide in every way for the prosperity of his community. ⁷

¹ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Sia; in 11:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 17.

² *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 175 sq.

³ *Clavigero*, History of Mexico, vol. I, pp. 131, 156.

⁴ *Hawtrey*, The Lengua Indians; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1901, p. 292.

⁵ *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. II, p. 102.

⁶ *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 106.

⁷ *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 330.

Passing over to the natives of Africa, we read of the N'Komis in West Africa that »un chef suprême ou grand roi, auquel les autres chefs obéissent, gouverne tout le pays. Mais ce roi est un père pour ses sujets». ¹ The clan chiefs of the Baganda were expected to promote the general welfare of their communities. ² When the Wabena chiefs die the people lament: — »Our friend, our father and helper, our chief is dead. He had a good heart and he gave us always our food». ³ So also the chief of the Masai was above all looked upon as the far-sighted patriarch of the people. ⁴ Similarly, speaking of the Basutos, Casalis observes that they called their chiefs *Morena*. »The origin of this word is very beautiful; it is formed from the verb of *rena*: to be tranquil. *Morena* therefore signifies, he who watches over the public safety and welfare.» ⁵

The Maori tribes expected that a chief should be to his people a father, »a strong *pa*» (fortress). ⁶ When one of the brothers or sons of a deceased chief in Fiji was about to be elected as his successor, the people paid great attention to the fact, who of them had been generous and taken care of his fellow men. ⁷ Similarly on the native chiefs in New Guinea devolved the duty of providing for the general welfare of their communities. ⁸

As early as 2200 B. C. the Chinese rulers were instructed that »virtue consists mainly in good government, and good government in nourishing people». ⁹ Another instructive pas-

¹ Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, vol. LX, p. 176.

² Roscoe, The Baganda, p. 19.

³ Priebusch, Die Stellung des Häuptlings bei den Wabena; in Globus, 1910, vol. XCVIII, p. 206.

⁴ Merker, Die Masai, p. 18.

⁵ Casalis, The Basutos, p. 214.

⁶ Smith, The Doings of the Wera; in Journ. Polyn. Soc. vol. IX, p. 57.

⁷ Thomson, The Fijians, p. 357; — Seeman, Viti, p. 232; — Williams and Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. I, p. 42.

⁸ Krieger, Neu Guinea, p. 194.

⁹ Medhurst, Ancient China, p. 44 sq.

sage in ancient Chinese chronicles runs: — »Men are the most intelligent part of sublunary things; the most truly intellectual of men become chief rulers, and the chief ruler is the parent of the people». ¹ And ever since those remote ages »the radical idea at the bottom of Chinese financial method is feeding the people and feeding on the people». ² Indeed the Chinese rulers have always held the view that they are themselves ultimately responsible for the general welfare of the people. Consequently they have often published edicts confessing to heaven their shortcomings, taking upon themselves the blame of floods, famines, and revolutionary outbreaks, and begging heaven's forgiveness. ³

Manifold were also the patriarchal duties of the ancient Irish chiefs towards their people. ⁴ Similarly according to Kauffman, ⁵ the chiefs of the early Germans made use of all their skill, magical and natural, to promote the general welfare of their communities. Of the chiefs of the early Scandinavians Strinnholm remarks that they were each in his community »the first father of the family». ⁶

On the other hand, when primitive chiefs could be deposed by reason of drought and famine or other similar disasters, no

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 182.

² *Parker*, *China*, p. 195; — *Smith*, *Chinese Characteristics*, p. 107.

³ *Chavannes*, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien*, vol. I, pp. 33, 37, 40; vol. II, p. 147, *passim*; — *Pauthier*, *Chine*, p. 135; — *Smith*, *Op. cit.* p. 234.

As for similar edicts published at the eve and during the revolution 1911—12, see *e. g.* *The Times*, Oct. 30:th, 1911; and *Helsingin Sanomat*, Oct. 30:th, Nov. 5:th, 1911.

⁴ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. IV, p. 341.

⁵ *Kauffman*, *Balder*, pp. 208, *sqq.*, 215, *passim*.

⁶ *Strinnholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. II, p. 40. — They were supposed not merely to avail themselves of their magical skill in battle and at sea, but they were able also »Menschen zu Geburt zu helfen, Vogelgezwitscher zu verstehen, Feuer zu löschen, Schmerzen zu lindern . . .» — *Kauffman*, *Op. cit.* p. 176; *cf.* p. 207 *sqq.*

wonder that this might often be the case in other instances also. If it thus happened that the people became discontented with their chiefs, they either dismissed them or left their rule. There are several instances to show this. Describing the neolithic natives of Central Brazil, von den Steinen observes that if they found the sway of their chiefs unpleasant they simply settled down elsewhere.¹ Of the Abipones we noticed above that like customs prevailed among them also.² The Assiniboin dismissed any chief if he acted against their customs.³ According to Shakespear, among the Lushais the nomadic instinct of the people is still so strong that any chief whose rule is unduly harsh soon finds his subjects leaving him.⁴ The early Saxons⁵ and ancient Irish⁶ elected their chiefs and they could depose them also for acts resented by the community. Of the early Scandinavian chiefs Strinnholm observes that some of them were killed when they resisted the decision of the people⁷. In short, from this point of view also it is obvious that the power, instead of lying in the hands of strong war leaders, as has been represented, is among primitive races far more vested in the people.

The general character of the primitive chieftainship, as it has been now described, gives, it would seem, the definitive solution of the question why in many cases no special war leaders

¹ Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 331.

² See *supra*, p. 137.

³ *Dorsey*, *Siouan Sociology*; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 224.

⁴ *Shakespear*, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 44; cf. p. 45. — »Bei den Basutho fliehen die Unterthanen eines Häuptlings, welcher sie zu schlecht behandelt, zu anderen Häuptlingen.« — *Post*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, vol. I, p. 152; quoting *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. VI, p. 31. — This was the case among the Kafirs, Makokolo and others also. — *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 153.

⁵ *Freeman*, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I, p. 113 sq.

⁶ *Joyce*, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. I, p. 50 sq.

⁷ *Strinnholm*, *Wikingszüge*, vol. II, p. 52 n.

are elected, but the chief himself is expected to head his fighting men. Light was thrown, at least to some extent, upon this matter when we noticed above that in some instances chiefs have taken part in war expeditions on account of their priestly office and skill in magical means. Yet there certainly remain instances which are to be explained on the basis of a broader view. If the primitive chief has been, and still is in many cases, the «father» of his community, if on him devolve priestly duties, that is, of appeasing the invisible agents hostile towards the people, or to thank them for their benevolence; moreover, if he has to provide for the material welfare of his people by a great many means; if finally he, at least in some cases, is expected to fight against human foes by supernatural means, why should he not act, too, as a war leader in general, thus in this way also fulfilling his duty towards his people?

Of the Ojibway peace chiefs, Jones observes that when they lack wisdom, bravery, or hospitality they fall proportionately in the estimation of their people. It is therefore of considerable importance that they should excel in everything.¹ Hence, although they are not expected to take part in war expeditions, «they seldom, however, neglect a good opportunity of displaying their wisdom, skill and bravery, and often accompany their people and engage in the conflict».² What thus holds good of the secondary part played by the Ojibway peace chiefs in war expeditions can certainly be applied on good grounds to many of those instances also in which there does not exist any special war leadership whatever. The chiefs of the Paraguayan Chaco Indians are, as we have seen already,³ the general providers for their people, and «almost always noted for their untidiness, laziness, and dirt».⁴ Yet they also lead their men in war. Simi-

¹ Jones, *The Ojibway Indians*, p. 108.

² *Op. cit.* p. 130.

³ See *supra*, p. 239.

⁴ Grubb, *Among Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 102 sq.

larly the chiefs of the Ba-Mbala negroes hold their position for their wealth and because they are succeeded by those individuals who come next in wealth.¹ Yet these chiefs or their sons are war leaders at the same time.² The peace chiefs of the Mafulu³ in New Guinea and the Omaha Indians⁴ fought as soon as sudden attacks were made against their people, and when every able man had to do his utmost to rescue it from the danger. So also the chiefs of the primitive Irish were expected, among other economic duties, to extend the boundaries to meet the increase in cattle and the other needs of their people.⁵

In short, the rule can be laid down that when primitive chiefs have acted as war leaders, more or less independently of their priestly function, this has been more due to the general patriarchal character of their duties and activities than to the independent importance of their warlike functions. Thus they have been war leaders mainly by virtue of their office and not *vice versa*: that is to say, their position has not arisen from warfare and the duty of protecting their people before all against human foes. This inference, of course, does not by any means shut out the possibility of the occurrence of the individual supremacy of some great warriors also in a later stage of the development of the chieftainship, such as was observed in a previous chapter often to be found among the rudest savages.

¹ *Torday* and *Joyce*, *Ethnography of Ba-Mbala*; in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, 1905, p. 408.

² *Op. cit.* p. 415 sq.

³ See *supra*, p. 199.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 175.

⁵ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. IV, p. 341.

II.

Our investigation into the nature of the duties of primitive chieftainship has now come to an end. The characteristics which run through all the instances quoted above, and showing what is the nature of these obligations, have been so clearly marked, that a minute recapitulation is not required. The main inference is that among these various duties the warlike ones in the ordinary sense of the word are not as a rule fundamental. On the contrary, even among the most warlike races, as *e. g.* the Indians of North America, the Maori, the Fijians, the Dyaks, the Masai, and several other natives in Africa, as well as the early Germans, elected leaders are entrusted with the command of the fighting forces, while permanent and in many cases hereditary chiefs, or persons more wealthy than their fellows, have been in charge of civil and religious matters, in other words, of those pertaining to the ordinary life of their communities. It has been in many cases obligatory on them to make offerings to the unseen powers in order to make these benevolent towards the community and give them their livelihood, or otherwise to promote their welfare; or else the chiefs have been thought by other supernatural means, by magical performances, to be able to make rain, to ripen crops, or in other ways to control the food supplies. And the wealth of chiefs was made to serve the same end of public usefulness. Thus the general aim of primitive chieftainship, as a rule, has been to promote the scanty prosperity of their rude fellow creatures. Moreover, these traits have been characteristic not only of the so-called peace chiefs, but of those also who take part in active hostilities either by virtue of their supernatural powers or on account of their general duty to work for the benefit of their peoples and to head them in all their undertakings whether peaceful or warlike.

These inferences justify the views put forward in a previous chapter with regard to the development of the primitive chieftainship above the level of the simple rule of elders. In the long run able warriors have not succeeded in establishing their permanent rule. Primitive warfare, restricted as it often is to small parts of the community, or else carried out on an unimportant scale, and being, too, by no means unceasing, has not, as a rule, afforded opportunity for the brave fighting man to win a lasting supremacy. To him has been left the leadership only in isolated war expeditions, or he has been succeeded in his personal rule over the community by other individuals, kinsfolk or otherwise, who have had to adopt other forms of rule where warfare has not been the main occupation of the people. Thus, as far as a general conclusion can be drawn, it seems reasonable to infer that causes acting permanently — and foremost among these the relation between primitive communities and their unseen powers as well as their material condition — have brought about a permanent form of primitive chieftainship rising above a rudimentary rule by elders, while such a transient and uncertain cause as primitive warfare has originated a chieftainship which, as a rule, ends with the cessation of the chance hostilities.

Whatever generality is claimed for this inference, it must yet be admitted that it is based on only a comparatively small proportion of the total evidence available for examination. There are, however, further a certain number of facts which can be held to give additional support to it. Firstly, it is a capital error to assume that the character of primitive chieftainship must necessarily be either that described above or else a mainly warlike one, whereby the occurrence of exceptional characteristics would be excluded. Not only do we meet with instances of gynecocracy,¹ but there are to be found also other

¹ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. I, p. 715; — *Tacitus*, Agricola, 16; — *Bastian*, Die Culturländer des Alten America, passim; — *Dobrizhoffer*, The Abipones, vol. I, p. 108; — *Bastian*, Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 217.

peculiar kinds of chieftainship. Thus Martius states that among the natives in Chili the man who could carry a heavy log furthest was elected chief.¹ Among the natives of South America the Bororos have one of the most centralized tribal organizations. At the age of five or seven the children enter the *Bahito* (men's house), which is a public school, where they are taught spinning, weaving, the manufacture of weapons, and above all singing, »upon perfection in which is centred the ambition of all those who wish to become chieftains«. The Indians themselves say: — »If chieftain has a son who sings not *Bakururu*, he is a common Bororo. Bororo who sings *Bakururu* well, he is chieftain«. If there are two good singers in the same village, either the one who is adjudged to sing somewhat the better is chief, or one of the two who secedes with his followers and establishes a new village. Under such circumstances, Messrs. Frič and Radin observe: — »There is no opportunity for the development of an hereditary chieftainship or castes«. ² Speaking of the tribal government of the North American Indians, Powell points out that in so great a number, several hundreds, of distinct governments, »there is great variety, and in this variety we find different degrees of organization, the degrees of organization being determined by the differentiation of the functions of the government and the correlative specialization of organic elements«. ³

Not merely are instances to be met with differing from those which may be taken to be the rule, but these latter are themselves liable to modifications. According to Livingstone, ⁴ the modes of succession to the chieftainship among the natives in Africa often vary in accordance with the decision of the chiefs.

¹ *Martius*, Unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens, p. 16 n.

² *Frič* and *Radin*, Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1906, p. 388.

³ *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 68.

⁴ *Livingstone*, Missionary Travels, p. 179.

Bastian observes that once in Loango a man who in vain had tried by means of armed force to drive away a chief, caused by magic a great drought, and this being ascribed to the malevolence of the chief, the people expelled him and put the rival instead.¹ Owing to special communications from their god, a Masai magician, as was noticed above, established his own rule among the Masai.² Speaking of a Melanesian usurper, Codrington³ states that this shrewd man succeeded in becoming chief by declaring that he had had special dreams to that effect. Similarly, Hunter states of the Kansas, Osage and Kickapoo Indians that their »prophets» easily usurp the supreme rule and »exercise the duties and receive all the respectful attentions which the Indians are accustomed to bestow on chiefs who have been regularly elected to the station». These magicians only need to distribute wealth generously — which is required of ordinary chiefs also⁴ — and »pretend to have had remarkable dreams or predict future events». ⁵ McKenney and Hall observe of the hereditary chieftainship among the North American Indians in general that, when a man of little capacity succeeded to the peace chieftaincy, he easily became a mere tool in the hands of the war chief who, having influence on the braves and young men, easily obtained a sway over the whole community.⁶ On the other hand, speaking of the Nehannes Indians, Bancroft remarks that this »warlike and turbulent horde» was at one time governed by an intelligent woman. »Her influence over her fiery people, it is said, was perfect; while her warriors, the terror and scourge of the surrounding country, quailed before her eyes.

¹ *Bastian*, Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste, vol. I, p. 267 sq.

² *Supra*, p. 188.

³ *Codrington*, The Melanesians, p. 57 sq.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 238.

⁵ *Hunter*, Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes, p. 324.

⁶ *McKenney and Hall*, History of Indian Tribes, vol. II, p. 68.

Her word was law, and was obeyed with marvellous alacrity». ¹ Moreover, changes in the supreme rule may sometimes have been deliberately brought about, as *e. g.* was observed above of the Omaha ² and Iroquois. ³

Thus the rule can be laid down, as was already partly hinted at in a previous chapter, that whatever may have been or still is the character of the primitive chieftainship, it is liable at least to certain changes depending upon peculiar circumstances, in which the personal qualities of the chiefs themselves, or other individuals claiming the right of chieftainship, have no inconsiderable part. If the origin of a defined chieftainship over and above the mere rule of elders is in most cases due to a greater intelligence or other capacity in some individuals, this certainly is the case also at a later stage.

Moreover, changes may also be due to the interference of the Whites. Before Egypt had made itself master of the peninsular tract of land between the Blue and White Nile, the Bari were governed by chiefs who exercised absolute authority over the people. But after the annexation their rule came to an end and was succeeded by a chieftainship based on wealth. The man who possesses the greatest number of cattle and wives is recognized as the chief. His opinion, too, has much weight in the council of the freemen. ⁴ Speaking of the Ashluslay, Dr. Nordenskjöld observes that the Whites, when arriving at a village have to present gifts to the chiefs. This custom, he asserts, is of a comparatively late growth. The Whites wanted a certain person to negotiate with, and they have therefore devel-

¹ *Bancroft*, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. I, p. 125. — Of the native chiefs of Deang in Bengal, an instructive passage runs: — »Ce chef de village est un tyran ou un père, selon le caractère des personnes revetues de cette charge». — *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. LIII, p. 372.

² *Supra*, p. 160.

³ *Supra*, p. 172 sq.

⁴ *Featherman*, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, vol. I, p. 75.

oped the earlier form of the chieftainship to correspond with their own needs.¹ Among the North American Indians, the Whites went so far as directly to nominate as »great chiefs» those individuals who seemed to be especially inclined to act for the benefit of the Whites.² Even the Government of the United States made its own chiefs over the natives, thus causing much trouble between these so-called »paper chiefs» and the ordinary chiefs.³ Similarly Nelson speaks of Eskimo chiefs who have been appointed by the Whites on account of the services done by them, while Mr. Hodson writes of the Nagas: — »We have in many villages an official entitled the *Meithei lambu*, who is generally invested with that dignity because he knows rather more of the Manipur language than his fellows. Many of them owe their promotion to a temporary sojourn in the State gaol». ⁴

Much more confusion, however, than that caused by any of these exceptional and random cases has resulted from the misleading statements of certain authors. Since they believe that savages are before all blood-thirsty warriors, they do not expect primitive chiefs to be anything else than bold warriors, and give descriptions to this effect under this mistaken idea. Thus, Mr. Latcham writes of the Araucanians, fully in conformity with this prejudiced view: — »As a matter of fact, there was no political organization, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognized no supreme chief save only in times of great national peril, and then only in military sense and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the function of chief ceasing from the moment the army was dis-

¹ *Nordenskjöld*, *Indianlif*, p. 30 sq. — As for the Chané and Chiriguano Indians, see p. 213.

² *Fletcher* and *La Flesche*, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 82.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 85.

⁴ *Hodson*, *The Naga Tribes*, p. 79.

banded». ¹ Yet as soon as the author puts aside his prejudiced conception of savage chieftainship and merely describes the true character of the political organization of the Araucanians, he gives valuable information clearly showing that a permanent peace chieftainship exists among these natives, and that the description, as given above, refers merely to a temporary war leadership. ² Mc Gee is so firmly convinced of the exactness of the warlike nature of primitive chieftainship that his description of the Siouan government runs in the following words: — »The government was autocratic, largely by military leaders, sometimes (particularly in peace) advised by the elders and priests. The leadership was determined primarily by ability — prowess in war and the chase and the wisdom in council . . . The germ of theocracy was fairly well developed and apparently burgeoned vigorously during each period of peace, only to be checked and withered during the ensuing war when shamans and their craft were forced into the background». ³ Yet, as far as the instances quoted above ⁴ throw light upon the matter, no such generalization as to the Siouan chieftainship as this can be made. The autocratic government of military leaders was, generally speaking, as strange to the entire Siouan nation as it is familiar to modern philosophies of war.

Not any better have McKenney and Hall, in their great work on the History of the Indian Tribes, fully realized the true difference between the permanent peace chieftainship and the mere temporary command by certain war leaders. To take two instances only. When speaking of the Shawanoe chief, Payta Koatha, they remark that »he was considered a peaceable, inof-

¹ *Latham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1909, p. 355.

² *Supra*, p. 184 sq.

³ *McGee*, Siouan Indians; in 15:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 188: — see also *McKenney* and *Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 135, 138 sq.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 174 sqq.

fensive person without talents, but always disposed to exert himself in reconciling differences between tribes or individuals, and was esteemed by the red people as a benevolent man». Undoubtedly this description refers to a peace chief; nevertheless the authors describe his picture as »Payta Koatha, a Shawanoe warrior». ¹ Similarly, the Seneca chief Red Jacket was apparently a peace chief, though the authors were not fully aware of the fact. ² It is only in their third volume that they give the correct description of the Indian chieftainship, as quoted here in the beginning of the seventh chapter. In the previous volumes they constantly substitute the war leadership for the permanent peace chieftainship as forming the supreme rule among the Redskins. ³

Speaking of the political organization of the natives in the New Hebrides, Inglis writes: — »In the days of heathenism there was a principal chief for each principal district . . . It is much the same still, only formerly the principal chiefs exercised the priestly rather than the kingly power. . . .» ⁴ It appears from this that, according to Inglis' opinion, a savage king should certainly have a warlike rather than a peaceful character, and consequently he ascribes to the temporary war leader the rank of king. Similarly, in the case of the chieftainship among the Maori the confusion in the opinions of the different authors may largely be due to a mistake on the part of those authors who speak about the elective chiefs as the head chiefs. ⁵

¹ *McKenney and Hall*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 83.

² Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 4 sq., 7 sq.

³ Remarkable is the controversy with regard to the character of the Wyandot government. Powell gives a minute description how it was organized on the lines of a gynecocracy, whereas Mr. W. E. Connelly strongly opposes such a view maintaining that this people, too, was ruled by a hereditary peace chief and the council of the clan chiefs. — See *Powell*, Wyandot Government; in 1:st Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 61 sqq.; — *Frazer*, Totemism and Exogamy, vol. III, p. 37.

⁴ *Inglis*, In the New Hebrides, p. 24.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 192 sqq.

Passing to the natives of Africa, similar mistakes are to be found. »Their chiefs, who were simply leaders in war and were distinguished for valour, assumed authority as rulers and directors»,¹ says Featherman. In his description of his own people, Daniel Sorur Dharim Den, a converted Dinka native, writes likewise in »Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi»: — »Nous n'avons aucun roi, aucun ministre pour ce qui concerne la direction générale de la tribu, mais chaque père, comme je viens de le dire, est maître absolu. Le seul chef que nous reconnaissons est un vieillard chargé des affaires en temps de guerre; hors de cette éventualité il redevient simple citoyen. Ce commandement même n'est pas héréditaire; mais le peuple peut à son gré ôter le pouvoir et le remettre entre les mains de celui qu'il juge capable de remplir ces fonctions». ² Yet in another connection the same author admits that as soon as the people were threatened with war, famine, or any other calamity, »les chefs des villages» made offerings. ³ Who then are these village chiefs in charge of religious duties, if not ordinary peace chiefs? Perhaps those fathers referred to by the author were simply clan chiefs invested with great power in civil and religious matters, forming a council of elders ⁴ and at the eve of war electing that »vieillard chargé des affaires en temps de guerre».

These examples have thrown some light upon the origin of the theory of the warlike character of savage chieftainship. When white travellers and other first-hand informants have believed through prejudice that primitive chiefs, in accordance with the alleged martial spirit of savages in general, are before all valiant warriors, and subsequently have found that such men are only temporarily invested with leadership, they naturally tend to let this point of view colour their descriptions of savage

¹ *Featherman*, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, vol. I, p. 7.

² *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. LX, p. 55.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 58.

⁴ *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. II, p. 270 sq.

rule, and, because of their accounts, Sociologists again are led to lay down an erroneous rule like that to which Spencer gives prominence in the following characteristic passage: — »When there occur wars, leading warriors acquire predominant influence. But at first . . . the man who thus acquires predominance during war, loses it when peace is re-established . . . As, however, wars between tribes commonly become chronic, it usually happens that the man, who acts as leader . . . gains permanent authority: . . . and chieftainship is initiated».

Yet such an erroneous procedure of first-hand informants is at least to a certain extent excusable, since an inquiry into the duties of savage chiefs is often confronted with great difficulties. Speaking of the natives of New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann ¹ points out how difficult it is to obtain reliable dates as to the character of the chieftainship existing among them. Similarly, Rink observes: — »It is not the exception but the rule that white men who have stayed for ten or twenty years among Eskimo return without any real addition to their knowledge of the traditional ideas upon which their social state is based». ³

As for the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy statements about the relation of the chiefs to priestly functions, it may be illustrated by the following instance. In the »Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute» for 1905, two papers are published dealing with the same people of South Africa, namely the Bawenda or Mavenda. According to the first author, Mr. William Grant, certain priestly functions devolved on the tribal chief, as for example rain-making and the makings of offerings when they pray for »peace, prosperity and plenty». Before his description of these observances, the writer remarks: — »I had

¹ *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 202 sq.

² *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, pp. 692, 701. — »I have heard», says Turner, »a strange remark that the difficulty in Samoa is not to find who is a chief, but to find out who is a common man». — Samoa, p. 174.

³ *Rink*, The Eskimo Tribes, p. 21.

been informed prior to my visit that I should discover among this tribe the remnants, at all events, of certain religious rites, and that an order obtained among them corresponding in some respects to an ancient priesthood. I confess, however, although my curiosity had been thoroughly aroused and I was thus prompted to make the most careful enquiries, I was unable to discover the least trace of any such thing». ¹ None the less, a hundred pages later in the same volume Mr. E. Gottschling gives a minute description of a clearly classified priesthood, but he again is entirely ignorant of the priestly duties of the chief. ² With regard to other primitive peoples, the same kind of mistake may well have been made by many other authors. No information about savage life is, perhaps, more difficult to obtain than that pertaining to their religious or magical beliefs. ³ What a striking contrast to this reserve is the talkativeness and boasting of savages in all matters pertaining to fights, trophies, and victories.

When thus the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy information about the peaceful duties of primitive chiefs is taken into account together with savage boastfulness as to their warlike activities, and the readiness of the white investigators to believe that savage chiefs are necessarily and before all the most valiant fighting men, it becomes fully intelligible why at least some first-hand informants have obviously given an entirely one-sided description of the character of the primitive chieftainship. It seems therefore justifiable to doubt whether many others of those instances in which the character of primitive

¹ *Grant*, Magato and his Tribe; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1905, p. 270.

² *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1905, p. 379 sqq.

³ See, e. g., *Murdoch*, Ethnol. Results of the Point Barrow Expedition; in 9:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 430; — *Sproat*, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 205; — *Karsten*, Resor och Forskningar; in Hufvudstadsbladet, 21. VII. 1912; — *Rawling*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 137 sq.

chieftainship has been made out to be mainly a warlike one are not unreliable. We cannot be at all sure that many of these statements are not likewise based more upon a wrong idea of the whole matter than upon actual facts. Hence, when, in such a considerable number of the instances the character of the primitive chieftainship has been, on the whole, mainly peaceful or »patriarchal«, it certainly may be held that the result of our inquiry represents the general character of primitive chieftainship at a low stage of development, and is not a generalization from exceptional cases only. Thus, just as it was observed, as regards primitive integration, that the Sociologists who lay predominant stress upon the consolidating function of savage warfare have made a primary cause of what is merely a secondary effect, so the statement can now be made that in the case of the primitive chieftainship they have in the same way passed more or less in silence over its main feature and attached paramount importance to a mere secondary function.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Of the two main characteristics generally ascribed to the State, the first — government — has to some extent been examined in the previous chapters in its most primitive forms among savages, as the rule of elders, and as a more firmly established chieftainship. . How far, however, these very rudimentary forms of rule can be held to fulfil the demands of a sociological theory of the State will be discussed more in detail when the second characteristic of the State — the possession of territory — has also been examined.

Whatever may be the opinion held of the character of the most primitive stage of mankind, it must *a priori* be admitted that its first occupation of a certain spot must have been a peaceful, not a warlike, one. Not until some individuals considered the piece of land occupied by them to be worthy of defence, could a warlike conquest take place. Speculations of this kind do not, however, settle the question, for we must believe that a settled life became an attribute of mankind comparatively late in its development. In fact, owing to this very trait in the mode of life of early man, it has often been maintained that the character of a State does not belong to his social organization. Yet, speaking generally, such a view seems not to be well founded. Comparatively great savage realms, such

as must unquestionably be spoken of as rude States, have, it is true, set no great importance on their territorial sovereignty; ¹ and it is also worthy of note, as Maine justly points out, that »during a large part of what we usually term modern history no such conception was entertained as that of 'territorial sovereignty'». Indeed, ² even to-day there does not exist unanimity with regard to the true character of »territorial sovereignty». ³ Moreover, the fact that 'rude peoples are not essentially sedentary does not by any means involve their constantly moving from one place to another. Speaking of the primitive hunter tribes, von den Steinen points out that the progress which has taken place in their life must have involved at least to a certain extent sedentary habits. ⁴ Of the pastoral peoples the same remarks can be made. The current view that they are in a state of constant wandering irrespective of any boundaries must be greatly limited, as even the most restless nomads move within a certain area which is considered to be the property of the community. ⁵ And as soon as a primitive people has become sedentary, it certainly acquires at the same time a still more distinctly defined conception of territorial occupation.

Besides, there are other reasons, too, tending to develop in the savage mind the idea of a fixed abode. Westermarck ⁶ has shown that to a considerable extent even the lowest savages

¹ *Ratzel*, *Der Staat*, pp. 69, 86 sq.

² *Maine*, *Ancient Law*, p. 106.

³ *Seidler*, *Das juristische Kriterium des Staates*, p. 60 sqq.

⁴ »Schon die Jägerstämme müssen eine, wenn auch unregelmässige Art der Sesshaftigkeit gehabt haben um die praktische Technik der Pfeile und Bogen zu erwerben; nur in dem friedlichen Dahinleben während Generationen können alsdann die Nutzpflanzen gewonnen sein, und es ist gar nicht nötig, dass es immer grosse und mächtige Stämme gewesen sind, die einen Fortschritt hervorgebracht haben». — Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, p. 214.

⁵ *Klemm*, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte*, vol. III, p. 143; vol. IV, p. 153; — *Ratzel*, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 430; — *Paulitschke*, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, p. 210 sqq.; — *Grosse*, *Die Formen der Familie*, p. 90.

⁶ *Westermarck*, *The Moral Ideas*, vol. II, p. 168 sqq.

display attachment to their native places, and »though a settled life is most favourable to its development, this feeling is not inconsistent with nomadism». ¹ Similarly the relation between the living and dead calls forth a bond of union between the burial places of the community and the people. ²

Thus, speaking generally, although from the theoretical point of view only a secondary importance can be attributed to the question of territory in the political life of primitive ³ peoples, yet as far as those primitive peoples are concerned whose government has been dealt with in the previous chapters, there is no reason whatever to assume them to be so devoid of fixed territories and boundaries that it is an absolute impossibility to attribute to their organization the rank and character of a State.

Thus, to start with one of the lowest savage peoples with whose government we have been concerned, the Veddas, they have clearly defined hunting grounds. ⁴ Among the Todas, a »settled pastoral race», ⁵ each clan has its own territory, ⁶ and the entire tribe asserts a distinct claim to the soil, ⁷ declaring that »it was only by their sufferance that the other tribes came to reside on it». ⁸ And although the Todas are a wholly peaceful race, these other tribes pay tribute as recognizing the territorial

¹ Op. cit. vol. II, p. 169.

² *Ratzel*, *Der Staat*, p. 66; — *Hodson*, *The Naga Tribes*, p. 93.

³ *Spencer*, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. II, p. 563 sqq.; — *Giddings*, *Elements of Sociology*, p. 249; — *Ratzel*, *Politische Geographie*, p. 4 sqq.; — *Ragozin*, *Chaldea*, pp. 123 sqq., 190; — *Hearn*, *Aryan Household*, pp. 212 sq., 261; — *Meyer*, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. I, p. 11 sq.; — *Seidler*, *Das juristische Kriterium des Staates*, p. 37.

⁴ *Seligmann*, *The Veddas*, pp. 79, 106 sqq., 111 sqq.; — *Sarasin*, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, vol. III, pp. 477 sq., 488.

⁵ *Marshall*, *Amongst the Todas*, p. 58.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 206.

⁷ *Metz*, *Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 12.

⁸ *Harkness*, *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 18; cf. p. 108.

rights of the Todas. ¹ Many of the native peoples of Assam are in a very low stage of development, ² yet they have territories of their own. ³ Speaking of the natives of the Tenimber Islands, Kolff states that each small village community had »its own territory consisting of a portion of land and contiguous trepang banks . . .» ⁴ In his description of the intertribal relations of the Australian aborigines, Wheeler fully shows that all these rude communities have territories of their own, and their division is also recognized by all of them. ⁵ Similarly Mr. Williamson observes of the Mafulu Mountain People in British New Guinea that the boundaries between the various communities »are perfectly well known These boundaries are mutually respected, and fighting over boundary and trespass questions is practically unknown». ⁶ Statements, broadly speaking, to the same effect are given not merely with reference to other natives in New Guinea, ⁷ but also with reference to the

¹ *Rivers*, The Todas, p. 630 sqq.; see also pp. 6, 541, 557 sqq.; — *Metz*, Op. cit. pp. 21, 98, 129.

² *Furness*, Ethnography of the Nagas; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1902, p. 454.

³ *Hodson*, The »Genna» amongst the Tribes of Assam; in Journ. Anthropol. Institute, 1906, pp. 92, 94; — *Idem*, The Naga Tribes, pp. 73, 105 sq.; — *Furness*, Op. cit. p. 446 sqq.

⁴ *Kolff*, Voyage of the »Dourga», p. 228.

⁵ *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 62 sqq.; — *Spencer and Gillen*, Across Australia, vol. I, pp. 198, 232; — *Idem*, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 123; — *Mathews*, Australian Tribes; in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. XXXVIII, p. 940 sq.

⁶ *Williamson*, The Mafulu Mountain People, p. 83.

⁷ *Krieger*, New Guinea, pp. 87, 195 sq., 327; — *Seligmann*, The Melanesians, p. 467 sq.; passim.

Of the extremely rude New Guinea Pygmies Mr. Rawling observes that they consider themselves the original owners of the territory they occupy and of the surrounding country »and their claim is admitted — academically at least — by their neighbours». — The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, p. 276.; cf. p. 277.

savages in all parts of the Pacific Islands. ¹ Powell asserts that the North American Indians were to a considerable extent sedentary for a »very long period« previous to the arrival of the Whites. ² This was the case above all upon the Pacific Coast. ³ The introduction of firearms and horses, ⁴ as well as the demand for furs, ⁵ made many tribes hunters once more. According to Jones, the Ojibway and the neighbouring tribes had territories of their own: ⁶ — »The Indian country is allotted into districts, and each section is owned by a separate tribe of Indians«. ⁷ Of the Omaha and kindred tribes Dr. Dorsey observes ⁸ that each of them »claimed a certain extent of territory as its own, for purposes of occupancy, cultivation, hunting and fishing«. Thus also Hunter remarks of the Kickapoo, Kansas, and Osage in particular, that they regarded their territories ⁹ »as their birthright«, and therefore they defended them »with the utmost determined bravery«. ¹⁰ Similar information is given of the territories of other Indians of North America also, as *e. g.* the Iroquois, ¹¹ Cherokee, ¹² Kiowa, Comanche, ¹³ Cheyenne, ¹⁴

¹ Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 137; — *Pakeha Maori*, Old New Zealand, p. 181, *passim*; — Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 284, *passim*; — Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, vol. I, p. 263.

² Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*; in 7:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 30; cf. p. 40 sqq.

³ Op. cit. p. 32.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 32, 38.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 39.

⁶ Jones, *The Ojibway Indians*, pp. 107 sq., 123, 129.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 107.

⁸ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*; in 3:rd Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 366; — Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. p. 88, *passim*.

⁹ Hunter, *Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes*, p. 186.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 330.

¹¹ Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 96, 337 and *passim*, especially chap. II.

¹² McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes*, vol. I, p. 187.

¹³ Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*; in 17:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 164.

¹⁴ Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*; in 27:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 73.

Seminole,¹ and others.² Of the pastoral Navaho Indians, Mindeleff observes that »although the average Navaho family may be said to be in almost constant movement, they are not at all nomads, yet the term has frequently been applied to them. Each family moves back and forth within a certain circumscribed area». ³ Previous to the arrival of the Conquistadores the people were hunters, and their territory was divided between the various clans. ⁴ Firmly established boundaries are to be met with among the Seri ⁵ and Zuñi ⁶ also.

In his description of the very low races of Central Brazil, von den Steinen remarks that they recognized rivers or other similar marks as frontiers between the various communities. ⁷ Territorial occupation and boundaries prevailed, too, among other primitive peoples in South America. ⁸ Among the natives of Africa sedentary habits are to be met with, at least to such an extent that they recognize some sort of a division of the land. ⁹

If we pass over to the early Germans, Dahn asserts that most of these primitive tribes were at the time of the birth of Christ already living in those areas they occupied during the

¹ *MacCaulay*, The Seminole Indians; in 5:th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol. p. 510.

² *Carver*, Travels through the Interior of America, p. 297.

³ *Mindeleff*, Navaho Houses; in 17:th Ann. Rept. p. 484.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 485.

⁵ *McGee*, The Seri Indians; in 17:th Ann. Rept. p. 131.

⁶ *Coxe Stevenson*, The Zuñi; in 23:rd Ann. Rept. pp. 290, 350.

⁷ *Steinen*, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens, pp. 213, 219, 330.

⁸ *Molina*, History of Chili, vol. II, pp. 18 sq., 61, passim; — *Smith*, The Araucanians, p. 241; — *Latham*, Ethnology of the Araucanos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1909, pp. 334, 354; — *Markham*, The Tribes of the Valley of the Amazons; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1910, passim.

⁹ *Granville* and *Roth*, Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1898, p. 105; — *Gottschling*, The Bawenda; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, p. 377; — *Torday* and *Joyce*, Ethnography of Ba-Mbala; in Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1905, pp. 398, 405; — *Paulitschke*, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, p. 253, passim; — *Hanoteau* and *Letourneux*, La Kabylie, vol. II, p. 66; — *Ratzel*, Völkerkunde, vol. II, p. 66 sq.

third century of our era. ¹ So also he maintains — against the view that these peoples must have obtained the idea of territorial sovereignty through the Romans — that this conception was fully their own, this being shown clearly by their solemn religious observances with reference to boundaries. ² Thus as far back as the political organization of the early Germans, including Anglo-Saxons, ³ and the character of their chieftainship can be traced, we find also traces of territorial occupation. ⁴ In his description of the early peoples of Gaelic origin in Scotland, Skene asserts that when these tribes passed from the hunting and nomadic state to the pastoral, and became the possessors of large herds of cattle, »it was a natural consequence that each tribe should appropriate a special territory for their better management». ⁵ Hence the *tuath*, which name originally was applied to the tribe itself, came to signify also the territory it occupied. ⁶ Similarly, speaking of the early Picts in particular, Lang observes that when they first became known they had long passed beyond the stage of nomad hunters. »They must have practised some rude agriculture, which bound them

¹ *Dahn*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part I, p. 19.

² »Nicht erst aus dem römischen Stat haben die Germanen den Begriff der Gebietshoheit gelernt: schon die feierlichen, götterdienstlichen Handlungen, welche die Landnahme begleiten, das Umfahren, Umbreiten, Umgehen mit Opfern für die Grenz- und Landesgötter . . . bezeugen den Nachdruck, den das Rechtsbewusstsein auf das Statsgebiet legte». — Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part III, p. 361.

³ *Green*, English People, vol. I, p. 10; cf. p. 12 sq.; — *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. VII, part III, p. 361.

⁴ *Dahn*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 3: For further particulars see *e. g.* *Idem*, Op. cit. vol. V, p. 47; vol. VI, pp. 13 sq., 52 sq.; vol. VII, part I, pp. 10, 18 sq.; vol. IX, part I, pp. 36, 71; part II, pp. 4, 58; — *Idem*, Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 470; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 402, 406, 409; — *Idem*, Ursachen der Völkerwanderung, p. 299 sq., passim; — *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, pp. 51, 58, 60, 274 sq.; — *Maine*, Village Communities, p. 78 sq.; — *Stubbs*, Constitutional History of England, vol. I, p. 20 sqq.

⁵ *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, vol. III, p. 139.

⁶ Op. cit. vol. III, p. 136 sq.

to the soil and the soil to them». ¹ As for the early Irish, they had, too, very definite boundaries, nay even a law of »the divisions at the tribe of a territory;» ² while Caesar gives illuminating particulars of the territorial divisions among the early Gauls. ³ Similarly the early Finns had their territories. ⁴

Thus, as indicated above, these primitive peoples, whose political organization was the subject of our inquiry in the previous chapters, have, generally speaking, at least a vague idea of, and corresponding arrangements in regard to, »territorial sovereignty».

In so far as this inference holds true, the question of the origin of the State has been in the main solved. All those instances then of savage political organization referred to in the two previous chapters must be accepted as rudimentary forms of the life of a »State», which has already passed the first stage of coming into being. In all of them a comparatively firmly-established rule was to be met with, as well as, in some degree, a conception of territorial sovereignty. They were also independent, having no other supreme authority to obey than the will of their chief, acting either alone or in conformity with the decisions of elders or other leading men. The comparison, moreover, between modern States and primitive communities can certainly be extended also to those conceptions which form the subject-matter of International Law. It has been already pointed out that primitive warfare is not without its regulations; and there are many other observances in the intercourse be-

¹ *Lang*, A History of Scotland, vol. I, p. 78.

² Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, p. 283 sq., passim; — *Skene*, Op. cit. vol. III, pp. 143, 147, 153; — *Lang*, Op. cit. vol. I, p. 80 sq.; — A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, vol. I, p. 229; — *Joyce*, Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol. I, p. 36 sqq.

³ *Caesar*, De Bello Gallico, VI, 1—3, 10, passim.

⁴ *Yrjö-Koskinen*, Suomal. heimojen yhteisk.-järjestyksestä, chap. III; *Wirkkunen*, Länsisuomalaisten kansain sivistys-oloista, Oma Maa, vol. I, p. 117 sqq.

tween savage communities which show the rudiments of modern International Law. As modern States »solely and exclusively are the subjects of International Law»¹ and this part of Jurisprudence is still largely based upon custom only, so independent savage groups are undoubtedly the true subjects of those customs which among them represent »international» regulations.² It is then clear that from this point of view, too, there is no good reason why the characteristics of a primitive State should be denied to such communities.

Now, if the political organizations of primitive men correspond to the two characteristics of the State, the origin of the State must be sought in still more rudimentary forms of primitive organization, seeing that an origin implies in itself something coming into being which has not been in existence before. We have therefore to reduce our demands for definite characteristics and be content with such rude traits of rule and territorial occupation as seem to have a tendency gradually to develop into the shape of firmly established government and sedentary habits of life. And in fact, with the exception of the juristic theories of the State and a certain school of Sociologists, it would seem that most of the authors dealing with the life of primitive communities are inclined to go in this respect further back than the stage of a sedentary mode of life and a firmly established territorial occupation. Thus, to add two further instances to those referred to previously,³ Dahn speaks of »Geschlechtersteden» and »Hordensteden» among the early Germans even as early as in their wandering from Asia to Europe.⁴

¹ *Oppenheim*, International Law, vol. I, p. 18 sqq.; — *Nys*, Le Droit international, vol. I, p. 63 sq.; — *Westlake*, International Law, vol. I, pp. 1, 6.

² Cf. *Wheeler*, The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia, p. 6 sqq.; — see also Westermarck's preface.

³ See *supra*, p. 6 sqq.

⁴ *Dahn*, Zur Geschichte des Statsbegriffs der Germanen, p. 530 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Germanen vor der Völkerwanderung, pp. 420, sq., 463; — *Idem*,

So also Lamprecht calls the very rude communities of the primitive German States.¹ If therefore we extend our research for the origin of modern States so far back in history as to come to a stage of savagery so rude that no true territorial occupation is found, the same method is certainly justifiable in the case of primitive peoples in general. Thus an organization with submission to a leadership must remain as the essential characteristic of the State coming into being. The stage of savage rule previous to an established chieftainship was that of the rule of elders in general. In these instances we meet with comparatively clearly marked traits of the originating State. To take, for example, the Australian local group: it has definite boundaries, a complete organization under the rule of elders, though there is no definite chieftainship. Now, such a case of the government of a set of families by a set of elders cannot be held essentially to differ from the government of a family group by its own head. »Dans les cas les plus simples», says Deniker, »l'organisation familiale est en même temps l'organisation sociale».² And this most primitive social organization must be held to be the most primitive form of political organization, involving in the general authority of certain individuals the beginnings of political authority. Spencer justly observes that »in its primitive form, then, political power is the feeling of the community, acting through an agency which it has either informally or formally established».³ This being the case, the exist-

Gesellschaft und Stat, p. 446 sq.; — *Idem*, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. VII, part III, p. 1.

»Es ist willkürlich den Statsbegriff nur deshalb einer Zeit abzusprechen weil sie dem Stat für seine wenig zahlreichen Zwecke wenig zahlreiche und wenig einschneidende Mittel gewährt». — Op. cit. vol. VII, part III, p. 375; — cf. in general, pp. 374—380; — *Idem*, Die Germanen, p. 11 sqq.

¹ *Lamprecht*, Deutsche Geschichte, vol. I, p. 95; cf. pp. 164, 172, 175; vol. VII, part II, p. 404; — *Idem*, Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben, p. 42.

² *Deniker*, Les races et peuples de la Terre, p. 293; — see also *Vacher de Lapouge*, Les sélections sociales, p. 199.

³ *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology, vol. II, p. 321; — see also *Giddings*, Principles of Sociology, p. 208 sq.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 27.

ence of such a feeling cannot *a priori* depend upon the number of separate families making up a community. It must be theoretically held to exist even in a community consisting of but one undivided family.

The difficulty of defining at which point in social development the State must be held to come into being ¹ — that is, the State with its attributes of organization and government — has led many authors to take the view that the origin of the State coincides with that of the origin of human society. Thus Spencer has been strongly blamed in that he has made no clear distinction between the origin of human society and that of political organization. ² The same accusation could be made against many other authors. Vaccaro makes what he holds to be the most primitive human organization, namely the clan, to be the origin of the State, considering the clan and the State to be older than the family. ³ Strinnholm in his description of the political organization of the early Scandinavians, refers to the ancient Icelanders, among whom, he says, every large family constituted a State of its own. And speaking of the first white colonizers in the region of the Alleghany Mountains, Ratzel ⁴ observes that each of them was an independent master of his own soil, which he had to defend himself; hence every hearth was in itself a State. And in fact why should not the theory that the State ultimately originates in the human society be at least as well grounded as the theory of its being a later development? The

¹ »Jedenfalls können wir in der Geschichte den Uebergang, einer völlig staat- und rechtlosen Menschenmenge in einen staatlichen und rechtlichen Zustand nicht nachweisen«. — *Loening*, Der Staat, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. VII, p. 704. — See also *Ficker*, Königthum und Kaiserthum, p. 32. — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 29. — *Melamed*, Der Staat, p. 1; — *Heimbürger*, Der Erwerb der Gebietshoheit. p. 40.

² *Gumpłowicz*, Die Geschichte der Staatstheorien, pp. 399, 402.

³ *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'État, pp. 204 sq., 450.

⁴ *Ratzel*, Der Staat, p. 74.

conception of a State is a general one which covers many varieties. There is no one form of political organization in history to which the term of a model State is to be applied.¹ The only characteristics common to them all is an independent internal organization under a government and the occupation of a territory, with more or less varying boundaries. Any further characteristics are only secondary, being either peculiar to certain States only or representing the individual views of the writers.

If we accept the view that the origin of the State lies thus in the origin of human society, we reach finally the answer to the question of the relation of war to the origin of the State. If it is to be held — as facts seem to indicate — that the family was the earliest human society and if furthermore our inferences as regards the extension of the primitive units were true, the same conclusions must consequently hold good of the origin of the State likewise. Since early political organization has taken place simultaneously with primitive social integration as a whole, and since in this latter process of development war has been observed to play only a secondary part, it follows that it has played only the same secondary part in early political organization also. Moreover, if one of the main characteristics of a State is the existence of a government, it is evident from this, too, that the origin of the State has been mainly a peaceful one, since the origin of savage government has, generally speaking, been due to peaceful causes acting continuously within the community, and not to merely occasional causes from without, like wars. Hence those theories which hold that the origin of the State is to be derived from the origin of human society in general, while on the other hand maintaining that the origin of the State is bound up with war, must be erroneous, based as they are on

¹ »In England we may say the notion of the State, from the constitutional point of view, is still inchoate». — *Barclay*, *The State*; in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XXV, p. 800. — Cf. *Loening*, *Op. cit.* vol. VII, p. 708; — *Spencer*, *Principles of Ethics*, vol. II, p. 182.

generalizations from merely secondary effects instead of primary causes.

This mistake has arisen in the case of Sociologists like Spencer and Vaccaro through a false conception of the nature of primitive warfare and early chieftainship. Thus as soon as a more accurate description of savage warfare and government is made, it is seen that, while the origin of the State is held to coincide with the origin of human society, the part played by war in originating the State must receive a corresponding revaluation.

A different standpoint must be taken as to the theory of the origin of the State constructed by Gumplowicz and subsequently adopted more or less completely by Ratzehofer, Ward, Treitschke, ¹ Oppenheimer and others. ² Here it is not an erroneous view as to the nature of savage conditions that has directly given rise to an assumption that war has been the main condition for the origin of the State; but rather it is that no proper heed has been given by these Sociologists to the political life of savages previous to the rise of direct wars for conquest. They have deliberately selected features in later savage and barbarous life to be the starting point of their political theories. The characteristics of a State as defined by them must accordingly show considerable differences from those which are more generally attributed to the State. Their procedure, however, is by no means justified by the facts, as far at least, as the sociological theory of the State is concerned. If there is demanded for a State a government and the occupation of a territory, both these distinguishing marks must certainly exist, in however rudimentary a form, before a warlike people can conquer the territory of a peaceful unit, and by means of the subjugation of this people bring about that relation of political supremacy on the one hand and subjection on the other, which according to Gumplowicz and his followers constitute the fundamental condi-

¹ As for *Treitschke's* more cautious view, see p. 10.

² See, e. g., *Jerusalem*, Einleitung in die Philosophie, p. 238; — *Martensen*, Den Kristliga Etiken, vol. II, p. 84.

tion for the birth of a State. This is certainly so obvious that many of those authors, even in whose theories the origin of the State is put in the closest connection with war, strongly oppose this view of Gumplowicz's.¹ Thus Vaccaro in discussing it observes: — »Les faits, au contraire, démontrent que le pouvoir naît ordinairement bien avant que les hommes ne soient en état de *subjuguer les autres groupes sociaux*; et le fait même du '*subjugement*' démontre que l'organisation politique du groupe qui l'accomplit est déjà très avancée». ² Similar views were held by Steinmetz also previous to his »Philosophie des Kriegeres». In his investigation into the judicial systems of the natives in Africa and the Pacific Islands he points out how the chieftainship among the former peoples, and particularly among the natives of the French Sudan, is brought into being through the formation of groups on the basis of consanguinity, whereby chieftainship arises through the patriarchal principle. The first stage of chieftainship, Steinmetz therefore remarks, thus comes about in a way which does not at all agree with the theory of Gumplowicz. And from this quite proper inference Steinmetz passes on to another: that the inductive foundation for the »Rassenkampf» seems thus to be somewhat weak.³

The conclusions as to the theory of the origin of the State as constructed by Gumplowicz, can at once be applied also to the theories of Ratzenhofer and Lester Ward, as well as of Treitschke, so far as he has adopted the same view.⁴ When in the

¹ See e. g. *Spencer*, Principles of Ethics, vol. II, p. 184 sqq.; — *Duguit*, L'Etat, pp. 243, 247 sq., 253 sq., 261; — *Treitschke*, Politik, vol. I, p. 113 sq.; — *Seidler*, Das juristische Kriterium des Staates, p. 20 n.

² *Vaccaro*, Les bases sociologiques du Droit et de l'Etat, p. 236.

³ »Also eine Entstehung der Häuptlingschaft von innen heraus, ohne Eroberung oder Rassenkampf und es gibt zahllose solche Fälle. Die erste Entwicklung der politischen Organisation geht also gewiss nicht gemäss der Theorie von Gumplowicz, der Staat beruhe auf Eroberung und Rassenkampf, vor sich . . . Die inductive Basis dieser ganzen Theorie scheint etwas schwach zu sein». — Op cit. p. 116.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 10, and Politik, vol. I, p. 113 sq.

following part of this study, the development of savage warfare from a stage merely of acts of revenge to one of wars of lasting conquest is dealt with, it will become still more evident how the theories above mentioned refer only to this latter stage of belligerency and the foundation of States, and not to those primary forms of political organization which have rendered this latter form of political development possible.

As for Oppenheimer in particular, it may be added that though he has unquestionably the right conception of the nature of primitive warfare,¹ nevertheless his method is very one-sided. With few exceptions all the ethnographical material he has used to support the theory of Gumplowicz is taken from Ratzel's »Völkerkunde». No doubt, Ratzel has been to a certain extent influenced by the views of Gumplowicz, but at the same time his wide ethnographical reading has done him great service by giving him a more impartial conception of savage conditions and life. Nevertheless Oppenheimer quotes with few exceptions those instances only which suit his particular view. It is obvious that from such a method of ethnographical demonstration he finds himself able to conclude, in conformity with Lilienfeld's theory,² that the State originates through physiological increase only in the way of a peaceful agricultural peasantry, representing the ovulum, being sociologically fertilized by an active nomadic pastoral horde.³ As was observed above, in his »Rechtsverhältnisse» Steinmetz kept aloof from the theory of Gumplowicz and stressed the peaceful origin of primitive political organization; accordingly he pretends in »Die Philosophie des Krieges», to avoid laying down any rule in regard to the relation of war to the origin of the State.⁴ Nevertheless he emphasizes the view that without war there is no State.

¹ See *supra*, p. 80 n.

² *Lilienfeld*, *Zur Vertheidigung der organischen Methode*, p. 50 sq.

³ *Der Staat*, p. 51.

⁴ *Die Philosophie des Krieges*, p. 192.

Our investigation into the relation of war to the origin of the State has thus resulted in conclusions opposed to those of writers who believe the origin of the State to lie in the warlike activities of early man. Our inferences have been that primitive society rests on the primary bonds of kinship, local proximity and common customs, as well as common superstitious observances. Owing to these integrating factors, the permanent practice of mutual aid and co-operation in peace is developed, and consequently co-operation in war is also brought about. Simultaneously with this gradual development of primitive society the germs of political organization grow slowly, until the mere authority of elders evolves into a firmly established chieftainship and the more advanced mode of living of the community at last calls forth a permanent occupation of territory. Then the primary process in the origin of a State has ended and a State is actually in existence, in so far as by this term is meant a group of men politically organized under its own government and occupying a definite territory.

In fact, all the chief characteristics of a modern State are to be found in such a rude political organization. It may be governed either on a hereditary basis or the supreme ruler may be elected; moreover, along with the opinion of the chief, the will of the people may be represented through the council of elders, or able men in general. It has also its own laws and customs, regulating its internal life. It observes religious ceremonies as strictly as modern States do. It is likewise far from being constantly at war with its neighbours; on the contrary, when wars are waged, they are in many cases concluded by express treaties of peace. Moreover, owing to these intertribal regulations, friendly intercourse between neighbouring communities occurs. Thus is rendered possible the process of material and mental development, which must have preceded every higher civilization, whether still alive or extinct.

It is essentially this general constructive process that constitutes the fundamental basis of the State in its primitive

form, and not wars. It is true that later on, when primitive communities have passed on to a still higher stage of general development, the entire structure of their political life changes. New aspirations soon fill the life of the leading individuals, whether chiefs or not. Now wars of permanent conquest become their highest ambition, and the States which succeed in overpowering the neighbouring communities grow rapidly on the basis of feudalism. Most of them succumb in their turn, while others survive, continuing their policy of conquest and subjugation. In them it gradually becomes a scientific no less than a political doctrine that there has never been and never will be a State without war. And yet, among lower races, independent political organizations have prevailed and still prevail, presenting the main characteristics of a State and having, too, originated mainly from peaceful sources. The wars waged among such rude peoples, not in order to obtain permanent profit, but mainly for the sake of revenge, have been too desultory undertakings to bring about such great results.

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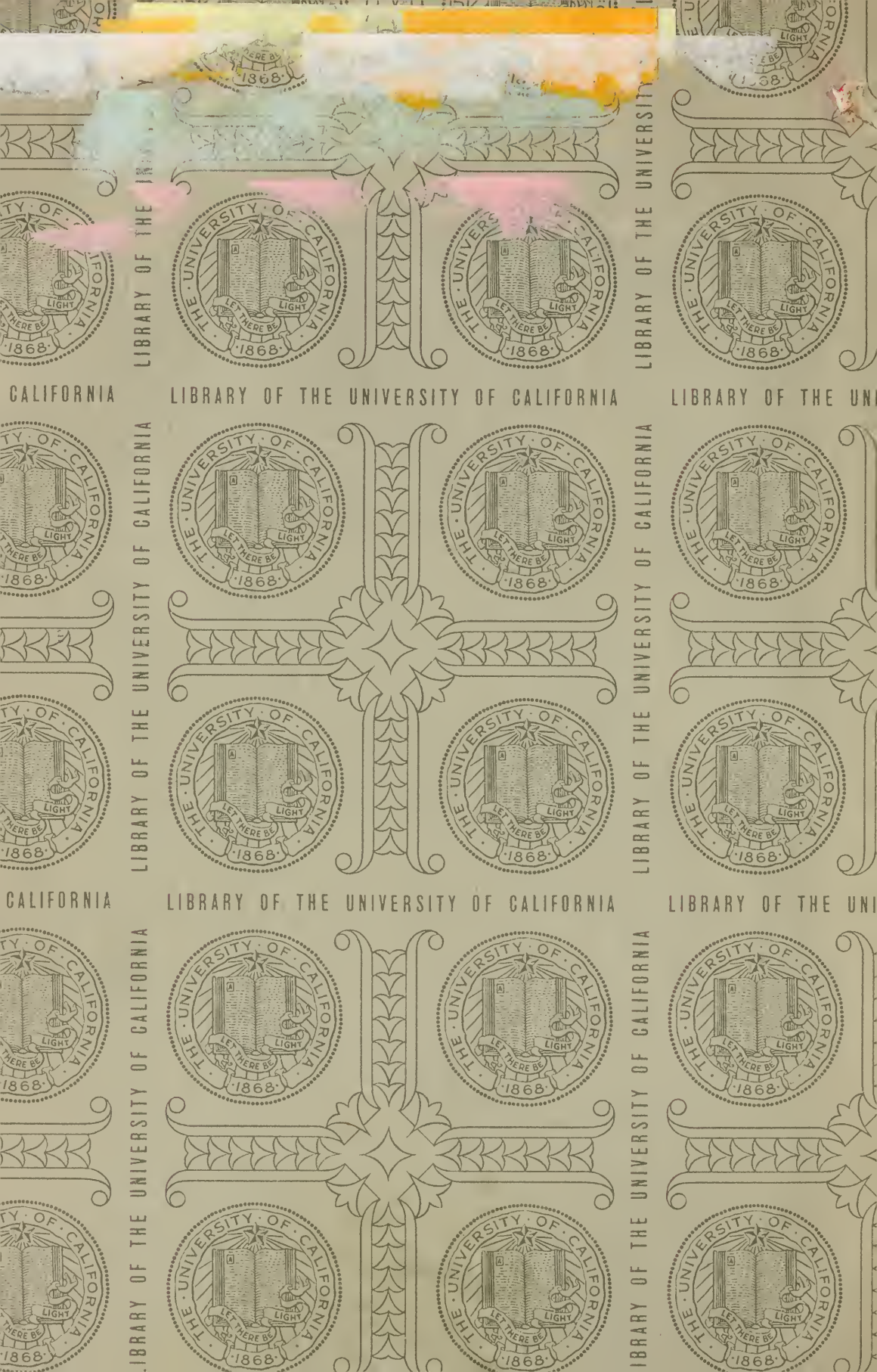
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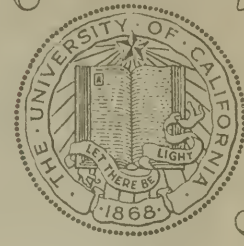
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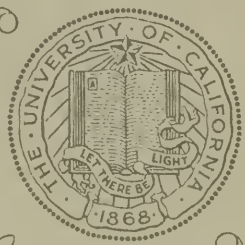


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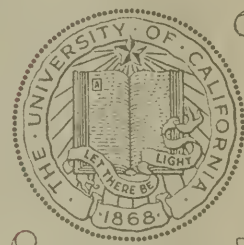
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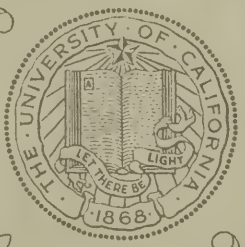


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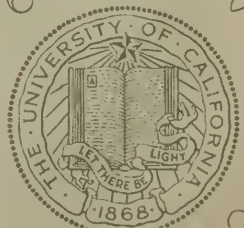
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